

part he was obliged to a  
prisoner according to the custom of the  
country.

## HISTORY OF FRANCE.

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Bo Q. Ked: Ignomis  
P. H A R A M O N D.

**H**ONORIUS possessed the empire of the West; the Roman power was destroyed by civil wars, and by the irruptions of the barbarians, and all the state was falling into ruin by the weakness, cowardice, and remissness of its head, when the Franks, a people of Germany living near the Rhine, endeavoured to penetrate into Gaul, where they had for a long time had settlements. They were still Pagans, and Gaul was Christian. Some of our historians reckon Pharamond, son of Marcomir, first king of the Franks;

and say that it was about the year 420 that he was elected, by being raised on a buckler, according to the custom of the nation.

The Franks were governed by the Salic laws, so called from the Salians, the most illustrious among the Franks. Following kings have enlarged and explained them, but they were from that time in force. This is what they enacted concerning successions: *In a Salic estate no part of the heritage is to fall to the females; but it belongs whole and entire to the males\**. The Salic estates were those given to the Salians, or chiefs among the Franks, on military tenures, without any other servitude; so it is not strange that females were excluded from them. Persons skilled in our antiquities make no doubt but this article of the law, concerning the Salic lands, is derived from the ancient customs of the nation, and was in use among this people from their most remote origin.

### CLODION the HAIRY.

The part of Gaul in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, of which the Franks had taken possession in 428, under the command of their king Clodion, surnamed the Hairy,

\* Tit. 62. de alode, art. 6. 7.

was taken from them by Aëtius, the Roman general, who having overcome them in a battle, concluded nevertheless a treaty of peace with them in the year 431.

But six years after, that is, in the year 437, this same Clodion, whose reign is made to begin in 428, passed the Rhine in spite of Aëtius who was not able to prevent his doing so, penetrated even very far into Gaul, took Tournay, Cambray, with all the countries about the Somme, and established at Amiens the seat of his empire, according to the historian Roricon. He died about the year 447.

### M E R O V E E .

CLODION left two sons, who contended for their father's succession. The eldest called to his assistance Attila, king of the Huns : the youngest put himself under the protection of Aëtius, who adopted him for his son. Priscus the rhetorician had seen this last at Rome ; and he tells us he was then in the flower of his age, and that he had long fair hair flowing on his shoulders. This young prince, loaded with presents from the Emperor and from Aëtius, returned into Gaul, with the title of a friend and ally of the Roman people.

Though Priscus does not tell us the name

of this second son of Clodion, he is thought to be the same Merovee who commanded the Franks in Aëtius's army, when he fought against Attila, as his brother was probably in that of Attila king of the Huns: for it is certain there were Franks in both armies. The dispute between the two brothers served Attila as a pretext for invading Gaul.

The Huns, a people in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea, commanded by their king Attila, who was called *the scourge of God* in order to spread terror in the minds of the people, passed through all Illyria and Germany, like an overflowing torrent entered Gaul, and besieged Orleans. Aëtius, Merovée, king of the Franks, and Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, united to repulse him, and obliged him to raise the siege of Orleans; afterward they pursued him into the fields of *Catalaunum*, as our historians speak, that is to say, into the plains of Chalons in Champagne, where they defeated him.

The troubles which happened in the Roman empire in the West, on account of the death of Aëtius, killed by order of the emperor Valentinian III. and the murders of that same prince, and of Maximus his successor, gave opportunity to Merovée to strengthen his power in the First Germany and

and Second Belgium. He died about the year 457.

### CHILDERIC I.

MEROVÉE was succeeded by Childeric, a prince accomplished in body and mind, valiant and ingenious; but he had one great fault, which was his abandoning himself to the love of women so far as to take them by force, and that even women of quality; which exposed him to the hatred of every body. So the Franks expelled him, and obliged him to retire into Germany to the king of Thuringia. The grandees elected in his room Ægidius or Gillon, commander of the Roman militia. But the king at his departure left at court Guyeman his intimate confident, who having insinuated himself into the good graces of Gillon, advised him to load the people with taxes, and to abuse the nobles, especially those who were Childeric's greatest enemies. He hoped by this method to reconcile the people to Childeric, and afterward to induce them to banish Gillon.

Things being thus prepared, Guyeman sent back to Childeric the half of a piece of coin which was to be the signal for his return. Basine, wife of the king of Thuringia, followed Childeric into France; and

he espoused her without regarding the rights of marriage, or the fidelity that he owed to a king who had entertained him so kindly. After his return, he advanced as far as the Loire, and fought a battle near Orleans ; he afterward took the city of Angers, as we are informed by Gregory of Tours : the author of Saint Genevieve's life says that he was in possession of Paris. But there is notwithstanding ground to doubt whether Childeric extended his dominion so far, as he died at Tourhai, and the Romans were still masters of Soissons.

### CLOVIS I.

CHILDERIC had by Basine a son named Clovis, or Louis, (for these two names are the same), since the emperor Louis the Debonair, or well bred, speaking of this first Christian king, says that he was of the same name as himself. Clovis was but fifteen years of age when his father died. We do not see that this prince engaged in any war before his twentieth year. It is said he employed this time of tranquillity in improving himself, in administering justice to the people, in the exercise of arms, and in riding the great horse. At last, being now twenty years old, he challenged to a battle Siagrius, the son of Gillon, who had his residence at Soissons,

Soissons, and whom Gregory of Tours calls king of the Romans, or Gauls, who lived in the middle of the barbarous nations, cantoned in different parts of Gaul. Clovis having joined Ragnacaire his relation, came and attacked Siagrius, who was defeated, and took refuge with Alaric, king of the Visigoths. But Clovis threatened to make war against Alaric, if he would not deliver up Siagrius. When he got him into his hands, he put him to death. In the tenth year of his reign he undertook an expedition against the Thuringians, whom he conquered and made his tributaries. He afterward intended to marry.

The reputation of Clotilda, niece of Gon-debaud king of Burgundy, had spread very far. It was reported, that this princess, illustrious for her beauty and virtue, continued, contrary to her inclinations, in Burgundy; that she hated her uncle, who had put her father to death; and that she was herself much abused by him. Gon-debaud was Arian, and the princess Catholic. Clovis, according to the monk Roricon, moved with her fine qualities and her character, sent Aurelian a noble Gaul, his confident, to ask her in marriage. He having heard how extremely charitable she was to the poor, dressed himself like a beggar, and in that manner mingled with those to whom  
she

she was to give her alms at coming out of church. When the princess came to him, he took that opportunity of discovering to her in private the orders which he had from his master.

She cheerfully complied with his request, moved with the passion expressed for her by so great a king, whose name was so famous ; and with the extraordinary stratagem used by him to founct her inclinations. Thus Roricon relates this embasssy, which has much the air of a novel ; but whatever be in that, ambassadors came to make a demand of Clotilda. Gondebaud durst not refuse her, for fear of disobliging Clovis.

Such was the manner in which this marriage was concluded, from which God had resolved to produce so many advantages to the king, and to the whole nation. Clotilda having born a son, obtained permission from Clovis to get him baptized ; the child died after his baptism, and that accident greatly alienated Clovis from Christianity, to which his wife endeavoured with all her power to convert him. He nevertheless allowed her afterward to get his second son baptized. Immediately the child was seized with so violent a distemper that every body thought he should die, and Clovis began to be in a violent passion against the queen ; but as she obtained from God the health of that child

child by her earnest prayers, her husband resumed his good humour.

God prepared greater things for the French nation and her kings, whom he had destined to be the invincible protectors of his church, and of the Christian religion. A dreadful multitude of Germans having thrown themselves into Gaul to conquer it, Clovis went and met them at Tolbiac in the country of the Ubians, (these are the inhabitants of Cologne). There a bloody battle was fought ; and as Clovis's army was already beginning to give way, he made this vow : *O God of Clotilda, if thou wilt give me the victory, I promise to thee that I will embrace the Christian religion, and that I will bring over to it all my people.* He said no more, and immediately the battle was renewed : his troops resumed their courage, and put the enemy to flight. The king having obtained his petitions, sent for Saint R hemi, bishop of Rheims, a man famous in his time for his piety and learning, who, having instructed him in the faith and precepts of our religion, baptized him on Christmas day.

Clovis's sister and more than three thousand French followed the king's example. From that time, the piety of the nation began to be famous throughout all the world ; the faith of the kings of France, always

ways pure, from that beginning to our own time, has deservedly procured them the honour of being called Most Christian, and eldest sons of the church, by the unanimous voice of all Christendom : and as they have been first in receiving the Catholic faith, so have they always carefully preserved it. After that Clovis made war on Alaric, king of the Visigoths : he killed him with his own hand in a battle, routed his army, and drove the Visigoths out of that part of Aquitain between the Loire and the Garronne, by making himself master of Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and Angouleme. The report of so great a victory obliged the Emperor Anastasius to bestow the consulship on Clovis ; after which he walked always in a long robe, according to the custom of the Romans, and took the diadem and the name of Augustus.

Theodoric, king of Italy, father-in-law of Alaric, undertook to revenge the death of his son-in-law, and to defend the kingdom of his grandson Amalaric, whom Clovis endeavoured to drive out of Gaul, and intended to confine within the Pyrenean mountains. He marched with that view a great army into Gallia Narbonensis \* ; and defeated Clovis, till that time victorious, who then

\* This division of Gaul contained Savoy, Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Provence.

lost thirty thousand men in one battle. Confounded with this loss, he was obliged to abandon that province : and his mind being soured with that disappointment, he became cruel towards the end of his days ; so that he not only robbed all his own relations, but even put them to death in a barbarous manner. These are stains on his memory, so contradictory not only to the spirit of Christianity, but even to the sentiments of humanity, that it is impossible to excuse them ; and one must necessarily be surprised to observe Gregory of Tours, after relating some of those bloody actions, which procured to Clovis immense riches, and still greater power, making this reflection : That it was thus God made him to prosper, because he walked uprightly in his sight.

Moreover, it must be allowed, that he was a prince brave, courageous, and ingenious, who is to be regarded as the founder of the French monarchy. It is amazing that dying so early, that is, when but forty-five years of age, he left to his children a kingdom so extensive, and so formidable to all its neighbours. He corrected in the Salic laws what was contrary to the Christian religion. He established the seat of his empire at Paris, and having conquered almost all Gaul, he was the occasion of its being called

ed in the sequel by the name of France ; which happened either toward the end of his reign, or in the beginning of that of his children. The country between the Rhine and the Meuse was afterward particularly called Austrasia, that from the Meuse to the Loire, Neustria ; and the country beyond this last river preserved its ancient name of Aquitaine.

### THIERRI, &c.

After the death of Clovis, his kingdom was divided by lot among his four children. Thierri, the son of a concubine before his marriage, was king of Metz ; Childebert, of Paris ; Clotaire, of Soissons ; and Clodomir, of Orleans. Under these kings the Salic laws were reduced into one body by order of Childebert, and were augmented and corrected in the following reigns. Clodomir was killed in a war against the Burgundians, and left three sons, Thibaud, Clotaire, and Clodoalde, of whom the two first had their throats cut by their uncle Clotaire's own hand ; after which, that barbarous prince divided their kingdom with his brother Childebert, who had consented, though unwillingly, to that crime. But Clotaire having united in his own person the kingdoms of his brothers who had died without

without heirs, (which was the sole object of his wishes), God was pleased to punish him for the cruelty which he had exercised upon his nephew, and permitted his eldest son Cramne twice to rebel against him. The first time, he obtained his pardon ; but having revolted a second time, he retired into a castle where the king attacked him, and prayed to God to do him justice on his son, as he had done on Absalom to David. His prayer was heard, and Cramne's army being routed, he was, by the king's order, burnt, with his wife and children, in the castle where he had shut himself up. After this expedition, he began to be grieved for having put his children to so inhuman a death. He did penance for a year ; and overwhelmed with grief, he died, leaving four children.

## CHILPERIC I. &amp;c.

The kingdom was divided among them in this manner. Chilpéric was king of Soissons, Chrébert of Paris, Gontran of Orleans, and Sigebert of Metz. The kingdom of Paris devolved on Chilpéric after the death of his brother Chrébert. Sigebert married Brûnehaut, daughter of Atanagilde, king of the Visigoths, who inhabited Spain. Chilpéric married Frédégonde, a

woman of low birth; beautiful indeed, and of a penetrating understanding, but very mischievous, and unmeasurably ambitious of reigning. A bloody war broke out between Chilpéric and Sigebert, in which the last having had the advantage, Frédégonde took measures to get rid of him, that she might by this means restore her husband's affairs. Chilpéric having then been obliged to shut himself up in the city of Tournai, with his wife and children, Queen Frédégonde engaged two assassins, who going to Vitri, a royal palace, situated between Douai and Arras, where Sigebert received the homage of the French, Chilpéric's subjects, and having asked to speak to that prince, killed him with two stabs of a knife, surrounded by his principal domestics.

Afterward, to secure the kingdom to his children, she put to death those of Chilpéric by his first marriage. She lost also some of her own. At last, a little time after Clotaire's birth, that is to say, when that prince was scarcely four months old, Chilpéric was killed in returning from the chace. Some historians, but very remote from that time, have written, that this assassination had been perpetrated by order of Frédégonde, because Chilpéric had discovered her amours with Landri. Moreover, the ancient historians, and Gregory of Tours himself, have neither

neither told the author nor the causes of that murder, and I do not incline to give for certain what is not so.

### CLOTAIRE II.

CLOTAIRE II. still an infant, succeeded to his father Chilpéric, and Frédégonde his mother was regent of the kingdom. Childebert king of Austrasia, Sigebert's son, had no sooner heard of his uncle Chilpéric's death, than he thought of making himself master of Paris. Gontran prevented him, and had in his hands Frédégonde with her son; but that princess soon gained by her caresses this easy-tempered old man. The war was continued between Clotaire and Childebert; and when the armies were in sight of each other, it is said that Frédégonde carried her son from rank to rank, and by this means she so animated her own men, that they routed the enemy. Frédégonde, not satisfied with that success, sent two clergymen treacherously to kill Childebert and Brunehaut. One cannot without horror read in Gregory of Tours the speech that Frédégonde made to her two men to induce them to the fearless commission of these crimes. I do not think the old de la Montagne, so famous in our histories of the crusades, could make any other to

the assassins whom he employed. Frédégonde's two emissaries were discovered, and Childebert put them to death in the manner which they well deserved; and that barbarous princess reaped no other fruit but the disgrace of having failed in the attempt. She reigned several years after so many crimes. Clotaire her son succeeded to the possessions of all his relations, and united all France under his government; for his uncle Gontran died without children. Childebert his cousin-german left two sons, Théodebert king of Austrasia, and Théodoric king of Burgundy, under the guardianship of their grandmother Brunehaut. There arose a bloody war between them, in which Théodebert and his son were killed. Théodoric died a little time after, and left four children.

Brunehaut their great-grandmother had thoughts of putting Sigebert, who was the eldest, on the throne of his ancestors. But, in the mean time, the grandees of Austrasia, wearied of the government of a woman, and gained by the artifices of Clotaire, gave up the queen to him with three of her children. Childebert alone escaped, and it is not known what became of him. Of those delivered up to Clotaire, he put two to death, that is to say, Sigebert and Corbe. It is said he pardoned Merovée, whose god-

father

father he was; but after this there was no more mention of him. He afterward ordered Brunehaut to be tried, and she was condemned to die. This unfortunate queen, tied by one foot and one arm to a wild horse's tail, was dragged through roads stony and full of bushes, till her body was torn in pieces. Many say she was innocent, but that Clotaire loaded her with many great crimes, to diminish the horror of so odious an outrage, and of so shameful a treatment of a queen. In this manner he made himself master of all Gaul. He governed this great kingdom better than he had acquired it: for he restored the laws to their ancient force; he was very careful in administering justice to the people, and eased his subjects who were overburdened with taxes. But he had always difficulty in governing the Austrasians, who wanted to have a king among themselves; so that he sent them Dagobert his eldest son, under the conduct of Pepin, who was called *the elder*.

### DAGOBERT I.

CLOTAIRE II. dying in the year 628, Dagobert returned into Neustria, to take possession of his father's kingdom, and brought back Pepin with him, seeming to make use

of his wife counsels, but in reality for fear of his diverting the nobles of Austrasia from his service by the interest which he had in that country. He gave no share to his brother Aribert: that seemed very strange, and quite contrary to the custom of the royal family; so that the nobles caused to be given to that prince a part of Aquitaine, and of Septimania, to be possessed with the title of King. He lived there splendidly, and could very well support the honour of royalty with proper dignity. As to Dagobert, he was very much addicted to the gratification of his passions: for, besides a great many concubines, he had also at the same time, as it were, in lawful marriage three women whom he called queens; and his excesses were carried to so great a height, that the historians have been ashamed to relate them. Besides that he overburdened the people with taxes, and did not even spare the revenues of the churches. Among all these irregularities, he was nevertheless very liberal to the poor, and to monasteries: such was this prince's expression of his devotion. On the death of his brother Aribert, and that prince's son's surviving him but a short time, Dagobert took back the provinces which had been given to him. He gave his own son Sigebert the kingdom of Austrasia, whither he sent him to reside, retaining

retaining however with himself Pepin who was mayor of it. He destined for Clovis, his second son, the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy. Toward the end of his life he assumed a more regular behaviour. It was he who built and endowed the famous monastery of St Denys, where the kings of France are buried, and where he himself was interred. In the year 635, Judicael king of Brittany came and did homage to him at Clichi, and promised perpetual submission to him and his successors.

## SIGEBERT, &amp;c.

DAGOBERT left his two sons very young. About this time began the declension of the royal family by the enormous power usurped by the mayors of the palace : for as they governed every thing during the long minority of these young princes, they educated them in idleness, and did not inspire them with any sentiments becoming their rank and birth. So they kept them always dependent on themselves ; and this was the rise of the slothful indolence of our kings. Under Clovis, there were two mayors of the palace, Ega and Erchinalde, from whom the houses of Austria, of Lorraine, of Baden, and several others claim their descent.

Pepin.

Pepin had the same office under Sigebert. Clovis was so dependent on the commands rather than the counsels of Erchinoalde, mayor of the palace, that by his order he married a slave, called Bathilda, a woman of very great virtue and courage, whom the French had taken in an irruption which they had made beyond the Rhine, and who, the author of her life says, was of an illustrious family in Saxony. Sigebert, a great devotee, but very inactive, left every thing to be done by Pepin, whose power was so great, that his family was soon exalted above others, so that his son Grimoalde had interest enough to preserve that great office after his father's death. Raised to so high a pitch, he thought he might also aspire to royalty, and obtained of Sigebert, so great power had he over him, that, though he was still very young, and married but a short time before, he adopted his son Childebert. After this adoption, Sigebert had a son, called Dagobert, whom he recommended at his death to Grimoalde, and left him in his keeping. But when that prince was somewhat grown up, Grimoalde caused him to be taken away and carried into Ireland, which the authors of those days call *Scotia*. And, as he had all the power in his hands, he placed his own son on the throne. The Austrasian lords could  
not

not endure that outrageous incroachment ; they dispossessed this new king Childebert, whom Grimoalde wanted to establish, and brought himself to Clovis, who ordered him to be put into a prison at Paris, where he died. They did not however recall Dagobert, Sigebert's son ; but submitted themselves to Clovis, who by that means became king of all France.

### CLOTAIRE III.

CLOVIS left three sons, Clotaire, Chil-  
eric, and Thierri. The first immediately suc-  
ceeded alone to all his father's dominions,  
but in the year 660 Chiladeric was elected  
king of Austrasia ; those princes were still in  
nonage ; and the third called Thierri, who  
was but an infant, had no share. Bathilda,  
mother of the kings, governed with great  
prudence and justice. Ebroin was mayor  
of the palace in Neustria ; he was a man  
subtile and valiant, who could conceal his  
ambition and natural cruelty. For fear of  
displeasing the queen, he struck in exactly  
with her wise designs, and was very service-  
able in executing her orders. About the  
same time, Sigebrand was called to court,  
and raised to the episcopate by the queen's  
interest, whose favour he had gained by the  
prudence of his conduct.

Ebroin,

Ebroin, who complied with the humour and inclinations of that princess, appeared to be Sigebrand's friend, till this man's vanity prompted him to suffer the queen's benevolence to him to be misinterpreted. Ebroin made use of that suspicion to ruin both. Sigebrand was killed by his enemies, of whom Ebroin declared himself the protector. They went afterward to the queen, and advised her to retire into the abbacy of Chelles, which she had founded with a royal magnificence. She complied without difficulty with that design: Ebroin became master of every thing; and his vices, but ill concealed, began then to appear. Hated by every body, he removed from court all the nobles, and discharged them to come thither without being called. Clotaire III. happening to die without children, Ebroin called to the kingdom Thierri, in whose name he himself intended to reign. He made this choice singly by himself, without calling the lords to the council, and he renewed the prohibition to come to court without orders. The lords of Neustria joined those of Austrasia, to put Childeric on the throne; and having taken Ebroin unprovided, they made him a monk in the convent of LuxeUIL, and thrust Thierri into that of St Denys.

CHILDERIC

## C H I L D E R I C   I I .

CHILDERIC having perceived at the beginning of his new reign, that the power of the mayors of the palace was much higher than the royal authority, enacted a law, by which he discharged children from succeeding to their fathers in their employments; but the lords, thinking that this law was made to bring down their too great power, found means to immerse him in pleasures, and thereby in inactive indolence. From effeminacy he proceeded, as is very usual, to unheard-of cruelties, which made him universally odious. Bodile, one of the lords whom he had ordered to be whipped with rods, assassinated him, and along with him killed his wife and a little child that he had. He had still however another, named *Daniel*, whom we shall see king under the name of Chilpéric III.

## T H I E R R I   I I .

After the death of Childéric, the Neustrians brought back Thierri, who, we have said, was put into a monastery. Thierri being restored, Ebroin was persuaded that he had found a favourable opportunity to resume the government. He came out

out of the monastery, and put himself at the head of those who hated Childeric. He surprised and killed Leudesius, mayor of the palace; but as Thierri had conceived a hatredat him, and would not suffer him to resume the authority, he was so audacious as to raise up a supposititious son to Clotaire, the son of Clovis II. whom he caused to be acknowledged king of Austrasia, under the name of Clovis III. Thierri alarmed at this, consented to Ebroin's pleasure, who immediately abandoned this supposititious son; and at that time the Austrasians recalled Dagobert, Sigebert's son, whom Grimoalde had deprived of the kingdom, and had caused to be carried into Ireland. But Dagobert got only a part of the kingdom of Austrasia. In this manner did the mayors of the palace make sport with princes: they made, they deprived; they restored them, so that they seemed rather a sport of fortune than kings. Dagobert II. king of Austrasia, and his son Sigebert dying in 680, Thierri saw himself once more master of all the French monarchy.

### PEPIN, mayor of the palace.

There was at that time in Austrasia a son of Ansegisus, who had been chief minister

nister to King Sigebert: this son was called *Pepin*, and was in high estimation for virtue and prudence. He was descended on the father's side from St Arnoul, bishop of Metz, and on the mother's side from Pepin the Old. He was all-powerful in Austrasia, and had so gained all their hearts, that, on Dagobert's death, they put no king in his place in that kingdom, which he governed under the title of *Prince*. He behaved so well there, that the Neustrians chose him to be mayor of the palace, after Ebroin, hated for his cruelties, had been killed by Hermenfroy. Thus Pepin had all France in his power, either under the title of *Prince*, or that of *Mayor*.

## CLOVIS III. &amp;c.

In 690 happened the death of Thierri, whose two sons, Clovis III. and Childebert III. reigned successively, as the first died without children.

## DAGOBERT II. &amp;c.

DAGOBERT succeeded his father Childebert. Pepin mayor of the palace died in 714. He had had two sons, Grimoalde by Plectrude, and Charles Martel by a concubine, called Alpaïde. Grimoalde being

killed in 714 had left a son called Theodoald, whom Pepin made mayor of the palace in Neustria. Charles was prince of Austrasia. Plectrude, after Pepin's death, seized Charles, and kept him prisoner at Cologne, that she might be mistress in Austrasia, as she was in Neustria, by means of her grandson Théodebalde or Théodoald. But the lords of Neustria, weary of the government of a woman, came to Dagobert, who was then seventeen years of age, and encouraged him to a war. They told him, it was time for him to extricate the royal authority, so long disgraced, from the contempt to which it was reduced, and that he must bestir himself, and take upon him the management of affairs. Animated with these speeches, he raised an army, with which he marched against the Austrasians, who were bringing back Théodebalde, and gave them battle near Compiegne, in which he defeated them. The carnage was horrible, and Théodebalde had difficulty to escape. The young prince did not take the proper advantage of his victory, and suffered a mayor of the palace to be created in Neustria. Reinfroi was named to that office, whom as the soldiers and officers were accustomed to obey, the king was disregarded, and died a short time after, in 716, leaving a son called Thierri.

Reinfroi

Reinfroi thought him too young to be made king; so he raised to the royal dignity Daniel son of Childeéric II. whom Bodilus had killed, and called him *Chilpéric*.

### DANIEL, or CHILPERIC II.

Having thus settled matters, Reinfroi carried the new king into Austrasia: his design was to take him out of the hands of Plectrude, and to humble the power of that passionate woman. He had entered into an alliance with Radbode Duke of Friesland, who was to assist him in this enterprise.

Plectrude remained at Cologne, whither she had transported all Pepin's treasures: her riches rendered her extremely haughty. Meanwhile Charles Martel, having escaped out of prison, and assembled some troops, began to examine by what means he might defend, both against Plectrude and against Reinfroi, Austrasia which Pepin had left him. He resolved to begin with Reinfroi, and to attack him before he had joined Radbode. The battle was long and obstinate: Charles, who had the better in point of valour, was, nevertheless, obliged to yield to numbers. Reinfroi, being victorious, marched to Cologne: Radbode expected

him thereabouts, and both together were to besiege that city ; but Chilpéric and his mayor, Reinfroi, approaching it, Plectrude diverted that storm by giving them money and presents ; after which they determined to retire. Charles, whose courage had not been abated by the defeat of his army, gathered up its wrecks, and pursued the enemy into the defiles of Ardennes. Reinfroi, having got out of that forest, extended his troops in a vast plain, and came and incamped at Amblef, near the abbacy of Stavelo. Charles durst attempt nothing, because he had not sufficient force.

While he was in this strait, a soldier came up, and promised him to put the enemy's army in confusion, if he would allow him to attack it alone. Charles laughed at his rashness, and told him he might go whither his courage drove him. So soon as he had received this permission, he went straight to the enemy's camp, where he found the soldiers lying, some on one side some on the other, without fear and without centinels ; and cried out, with a terrible voice, *There is Charles with his troops* ; at the same time, with his drawn sword, running every one he met through the body. The whole army was seized with so great a fright, that, Charles coming up on the information he had of the confusion, and having with him but

but 500 men at most, this handful of forces appeared to the alarmed enemy a frightful multitude. They were seen trembling, and running different ways; at last they fled with so strange precipitation, that Reinfroi and the king himself had difficulty to escape. Charles, master of the camp and baggage, did not pursue the fugitives, for fear they should discover how small a force he had, and think of rallying. The report of this victory made his name famous through all France, and caused him to be dreaded by his enemies.

Reinfroi, accompanied by Chilpéric, had difficulty to join Radbode, and durst never attack Cologne; but Charles, at coming out of winter-quarters, having assembled a considerable army, came and attacked Chilpéric and Reinfroi, who were then incamped at Vinci, near Cambray. There was fought the bloody battle of Vinciac or Vinci, which our historians have compared to the battle of Fontenai, for the great slaughter made in it. Charles gained there a complete victory, and pursued Chilpéric and Reinfroi as far as Paris; but he would not suffer the ardour of his soldiers to slacken, by attacking that city. He turned all his forces against Plectrude, whom he so frightened, that she opened to him the gates of Cologne, and delivered

ed up to him the treasures of Pepin. Thus he was master of Austrasia, where he got himself acknowledged as prince : he marched afterward into Neustria, to get himself elected mayor of the palace, and set, in 718, upon the throne Clotaire IV. the son of Thierri III. in opposition to King Chilpéric. Meanwhile Reinfroi had called Eudes Duke of Aquitaine. This man acted like a sovereign, and would not acknowledge the king, nor the kingdom of France. Reinfroi having granted him this right, which he had already usurped, he brought him a powerful succour ; but Charles defeated them without difficulty, so great was the terror in every mind. Chilpéric fled into Aquitaine, and Reinfroi to Angers.

Charles found Paris forsaken, and took possession of it. He governed all in quality of mayor of the palace. Clotaire IV. lived but a very short time, having reigned but one year, and Charles made no king for some months, in order to sound the dispositions of the French. As he perceived that the Neustrians were demanding a king, he gave them Chilpéric, whom he recalled from Aquitaine. Every thing being quiet at home, he went to reduce the Saxons. During this time, Chilpéric died, in 721, and Charles made king Thierri IV. surnamed

med de Chelles, the son of Dagobert III.

#### THIERRI IV.

Under this prince, Charles defeated Reinfroi, to whom he was so good as to leave Angers, after he had asked him pardon. Afterward he subdued the Saxons, the Suevi, and the Germans, who had rebelled. He subdued the Bavarians, who had given an asylum to Plectrude. He defeated the Sarrasins, a people of Arabia, who had conquered Spain, and endeavoured to rush into Gaul, of which they pretended, that the part which had belonged to the Visigoths was to return to them. I thought proper to insert here, in what manner the empire of that barbarous people began, and how it was extended in Spain.

In the year of our Lord 622, under the empire of Héraclius, and in the time of Clotaire II. king of France, Mahomet, captain of the Arabs, invented a new religion, brutal indeed, and full of ridiculous and wonderful fables, but accommodated to the genius of that wild and ignorant people, and invented by its author, with marvellous artifice, for politics and war; that is to say, not only to establish an empire, but to extend it. That pernicious superstition, arising from such a beginning,  
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got strength in a little time. Mahomet made himself master of Arabia, and of the neighbouring countries, partly by artifice, and partly by force. His successors, called *Caliphs*, that is to say, Vicars of God, took, in a little time, Palestine, Persia, Syria, Egypt, and all the coast of Africa. It was easy for them to pass from thence into Spain, and this was the opportunity that furnished them means for so doing.

In the time of King Rodriguez, Count Julian had a daughter of great beauty and virtue. The king became desperately in love with her; and, as she was invincible to his caresses, he was so enraged as to take her by force. She immediately acquainted her father with the affront done to her. The father, inflamed with the desire of revenge, employed every thing against Rodriguez. When this disaster happened, Julian was ambassador to the Moors, so they usually called the Saracins on the coast of Africa. He finished his negotiation, and returned to court, like an able courtier, dissembling his displeasure, and pretending he would profit by his daughter's favour; but, after he had brought over to his party such as he inclined, he begged the king to allow him to send his daughter to his wife, whom he had left in Africa, on pretence that she was indisposed; he obtained

tained his leave soon after, and followed his daughter himself; he made, in his way, a league with the lords about Gibraltar; and, when every thing was prepared, he called over the Moors, who gained great advantages.

The king set out from Toledo to meet them in Andalusia, and hinder them from entering into that province. There was a general battle fought on the banks of the river Guadalete, near a town called Cæsari-ania, situated overagainst Cadiz. The Christians were cut in pieces, and the king, being forced to fly, was drowned (as is said) in that river. By this single battle the conquest was finished, and that defeat of the Christians decided the whole war: for the Moors, immediately after, ravaged, without stopping, all Spain, took Seville, Cordoua, Murcia, Toledo; and obliged a part of the Christians, who were not able to bear the yoke of these infidels, to retire into Gaul, into Biscay, and into the Asturias, where, defended by the mountains, they founded a new kingdom, under the command of Pelagius, from whom the kings of Castille are descended. The Moors possessed the rest of Spain, and from thence had already extended their dominions into Gaul on the side of Languedoc, which they had conquered as far as the Rhone.

Eudes

Eudes thought of fortifying himself, by their assistance, against Charles. He had already made an agreement with the Gascons and Bretons ; but, in order to strengthen himself more, he had given his daughter to Munuza, a Sarrasin, governor of Cerdaigne. As they were neighbours, they promised mutually to assist each other in their designs. Eudes wanted to preserve Aquitaine for himself, and Munuza proposed to make himself sovereign of Cerdaigne. Abdérame, governor-general of all Spain, was not ignorant of their designs, and so he threw himself into Cerdaigne, where he arrested Munuza, and sent his head to the Caliph ; he afterward entered Aquitaine, passed the Garonne, and took Bourdeaux. Eudes, terrified with these rapid successes, was forced to call to his assistance Charles Martel, against whom, a little before, he was preparing so cruel a war.

This prince was returning from Bavaria, where he had gained several victories. Though he was not ignorant of the wicked designs of the Duke of Aquitaine, he sacrificed his private resentment to the good of the state, and resolved to oppose the Sarrasins. Meantime Abdérame, who met with no resistance, was far advanced into Gaul ; and, having traversed all Poitou,

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he was going to fall upon Tours, when Charles came and met him. There, having joined the Duke's troops, he passed about six days in slight skirmishes ; after which they fought one whole day. There was a great slaughter of the Sarrazins, and Abdérame himself was killed. The Sarrazins, nevertheless, continued steady, and fought in their ranks : so that the death of their general was neither known nor observed by our troops. Night separated the combatants.

The next day Charles drew his army out of the camp, and remained long in order of battle ; and, on a report made to him that the Sarrazins had retired in the night-time, he entered victorious into their camp, and there got a considerable booty. After settling affairs in Aquitaine, he made some other successful expeditions against the Frieslanders ; then, returning into Aquitaine, where Eudes had renewed the war, he forced him to fly. After the death of Eudes, Charles brought his son Hunauld, who refused obedience, to reason ; he reduced the rebels of Burgundy ; he beat the Moors of Septimania, and drove them out of the province, which he united to France, though, till that time, it had belonged to Spain : he vanquished the Saxons, who began the war again ; and occasioned, by

by his victories, an innumerable multitude of people to embrace the Christian religion. He took Lyons and Avignon, and subdued Provence, which had revolted.

By so many great actions, he deserved to be called *Duke of the French*, after Thierri's death, which happened in 737; and governed the kingdom some years with absolute power, without their making any king. He was so formidable to his neighbours, that, when he was sick, and exhausted with old age and fatigue, he repressed, by his single authority, and without using force, Luitprand king of the Lombards, who was very troublesome to the church of Rome, and to Pope Gregory III. When just a-dying, he assembled the lords, and divided the kingdom of France among his three children. Carlonian got Austrasia; Pepin, Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence; Grifon, born of another mother or marriage, had but a few places, and was easily spoiled of them, by his two brothers, after the death of Charles Martel.

### CHILDERIC III. &c.

CARLOMAN and Pepin had the absolute authority; however, to satisfy the lords, who asked a prince of the family of Clovis, they

they made, in 745, Childéric III. king, who is thought to be a son of Thierri IV. Afterward they beat the Duke of Bavaria; and reduced to his duty Hunauld, who was always unfaithful, and forced him to give hostages. They likewise subdued the Saxons; and these people having afterward revolted, Carloman reduced them, as well as the Germans, who could not be accustomed to bear the yoke. In the midst of so many victories, this prince, disgusted at the world, retired into a monastery, and left all the kingdom to his brother Pepin, who had then a son called Charles, who was one day to be the honour of France. Pepin went into Saxony, whence he drove his brother Grifon, who was beginning to make a noise. Expelled that country, he took refuge in Bavaria, where he was beat. Pepin granted him his pardon on his request, and likewise pardoned the lords who had joined him. After so many exploits he saw some appearance of getting himself made king, and of assuming the name of a dignity of which he already possessed all the power. He reckoned that by this means he would enjoy peace, because no further hopes would remain either for Grifon, or for Carloman's children.

But he had the natural love of the French for the royal family to contend with; be-

sides, these people were restrained by the oath which they had taken to Childéric. Pepin applied himself to gain over the nobles and the people by a mild and prudent administration. Men could no longer endure the folly of Childéric, who was called *the Mad*, and Pepin had the esteem and good wishes of all the French. At this conjuncture he proposed to them to inquire at Pope Zachary, whether the oath they had taken bound them to obey the person who had only the name of a king, or him who had the authority of one. The Pope advised them to abandon an unprofitable man, and to obey him who performed the functions of a king, and possessed the power. Having freed them by this answer from the obligation of their oath, they unanimously made Pepin king, and with him began the second race.

The reign of Pharamond, who is usually reckoned the first king of the Franks, began about the year 420 after the birth of our Saviour, as we have said before. The first race ended in the year 752 ; so it lasted 332 years, of which there were 120 taken up by the inactive kings, princes, who having nothing but the name of a king, fell into contempt, and were at last entirely banished.

## B O O K II.

## PEPIN LE BREF, or, PEPIN THE SHORT.

IT was then in the year of our Lord 752, and the 332d after the settlement of the French monarchy, that Pepin le Bref was crowned at Soiffsons, by consent of all the lords, and that he received, according to the custom of the French, the sacred unction from the hands of the bishops \* of the Gauls. The state of affairs was very uncertain ; some revolt was always dreaded, because Grifon was still alive, and because the lords were not yet accustomed to obedience. There were even some who laughed at Pepin, and at his little stature. He knew this, and resolved to establish his authority by some bold action, on the first opportunity that should offer. It happened, that while the king and all his court were present at a fight of a lion and a bull, at the abbey of Ferrieres, near Montargis, the furious lion had already thrown down the bull, when Pepin turning to the lords, asked them, if there was any one so sensible of his own courage as to go and separate

\* This is literal, but probably a mistake, the unction of kings being performed by one bishop only.

them. No one making any reply, Pepin, who well knew the nature of these animals, that they never let go their hold when they have once fixed their teeth or paws anywhere, jumped into the middle of the circle, cut the lion's throat, and, without losing a moment, struck off the bull's head. He then returned to the lords, and mounting the throne again, he asked them, if they thought him worthy to command them? He intreated them at the same time to remember David, who, though he was so little, had vanquished with a stroke of a stone a giant so proud, and who uttered such terrible threatenings. All stood amazed at the king's boldness, and cried out, that he deserved the empire of the world. Thus, by his valour and prudence, he got the better of the French lords.

His authority being confirmed, he marched against the Saxons, who had rebelled, and having defeated them, he forced them to pay an annual tribute of 300 horses. Meanwhile Grifon was killed near the Alps, while he was in his journey to Italy, to bring over to his interest Astolphus king of the Lombards. This king treated the Romans very ill, and had forced Pope Stephen II. to take refuge in France. Pepin took advantage of that conjuncture to get himself crowned anew, and with him Queen Bertrude,

Bertrude, and his two sons, Charles and Carloman. This pope excommunicated the lords who should for the future endeavour to transfer the royalty into another family. Afterward, to procure more respect and regard to Pepin, he declared him a Roman patrician. Thus the grandeur and majesty of the royal family received an additional lustre by the authority of so great a pontiff, so that in the sequel it was reckoned sacred.

Astolphus being in fear for his dominions, sent into France Carloman, Pepin's brother, who having turned monk, as we have said, remained in Italy at Mont-Cassin, that is to say, in the principal monastery of the order of St Benedict. The king of the Lombards made use of him to amuse Pepin by several negotiations ; but Carloman departed without concluding any thing, and was conducted to Vienne, where he died a short time after. Pepin having passed the Alps, brought Astolphus to reason, and returned into France. He went again into Italy, because Astolphus renewed the war. He reduced him at last entirely, and gave several of his towns to the Roman church. There were still some of them which Astolphus kept contrary to treaties, and it seemed he was again seeking a pretext for discord ; he had even assembled a numerous

army in Tuscany, under the command of Didier his constable. In the midst of these enterprises, he fell from his horse at hunting, and was so hurt that he died of it in few days after. Didier wanted to avail himself of his interest among the soldiers to invade the kingdom; but as some lords opposed his designs, he came to an agreement with the pope, and promised not only to restore the fortifications which Astolphus had kept contrary to treaties, but likewise to add some others. The pope, satisfied with this behaviour, induced Pepin to suppress, by his authority, the enemies of Didier, who, by that means, then enjoyed the kingdom peaceably.

When Pepin returned to France, he defeated Gaifre, Duke of Aquitaine, who refused to obey him; and as he endeavoured again to shake off the yoke, he made war against him anew, and beat him. Gaifre, forced to fly, concealed himself for some time in the forest of Ver in Perigord; from whence, having broke out with a new army which he had found means to assemble, he came and met Pepin, who had advanced as far as Saintes, and having been again vanquished, he was killed some time after by those of his own party who were weary of that war. By his death Pepin remained peaceable possessor of all Aquitaine.

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The troubles of Italy then recalled the king into that country. As he was preparing for that journey, he was surprised with a distemper. Perceiving his last hour approaching, he divided his kingdom between his sons. He gave Neustria to Carloman the younger; and left to Charles, together with Austrasia, the Saxons and other fierce and unruly nations whom he had lately subdued. He intended, no doubt, to leave to the most courageous the most warlike nations. Pepin was valiant, just, wary, great in peace and war: he was the first king of France who possessed Gaul in all its extent; and he might have been reckoned the greatest king in the world, if his son Charlemagne had not surpassed him.

### CHARLES I. called CHARLEMAGNE, or CHARLES the GREAT.

After the death of Pepin the lords met, and, without regarding the division which he had made, gave Neustria to Charles, and Austrasia to Carloman. Hunauld, Gaifre's father, who had become a monk, after having yielded his dominions to his son, having left his retirement, thought that the beginning of a new reign would furnish him with an opportunity of recovering

ing Aquitaine. But Charles, who had got this province in his division, marched against him speedily, and drove him out of Aquitaine. He forced afterward Loup, Duke of the Gascons, with whom Hunauld had taken refuge, to deliver him up, and to surrender himself with all that he had.

Charles executed all these things as happily as speedily, though his brother Carloman, who had engaged to assist him, had retired with his troops when mid-way. Didier meantime was stirring in Italy, and amused not only the Pope, but Charles himself with divers proposals. Amidst these movements, Carloman died, and left Gerberge his wife with two children. Immediately after his death, the Austrasians submitted to Charles; which obliged Gerberge to take refuge with Didier, king of the Lombards, whither Hunauld, on escaping from his prison, had also retired.

About the same time Pope Stephen died, and Didier earnestly pressed Adrian I. his successor, to crown Carloman's children. Upon his refusal, Didier took up arms, and marched to besiege Rome. He gave up that design only for fear of being excommunicated. Adrian distrusting his own strength, and Didier's intentions, sent ambassadors to Charles, who was then in Saxony,

Saxony, powerful and victorious, after performing great achievements there.

This prince observing that he was unsuccessful in several embassies which he sent to Didier, marched into Italy, where that prince lived quietly, thinking that he had secured the Alps, the passages of which he caused to be guarded. Meantime Charles having opened to himself a passage, where Didier expected him least, fell upon him unexpectedly, put his army to flight, and besieged Pavia, whither he had retired. After besieging this place in form, he left his uncle Bernard to guard the lines, and pursued Adalgise, Didier's son, who had shut himself up in Verona, whither Gerberge had followed him with her children. Verona surrendered, and Charles returned victorious to the siege of Pavia, which was so pressed by famine, that the women in despair threw stones at Hunauld, whom they looked on as the cause of the war. The city, together with Didier, his wife, his daughter, and his treasures, were soon put into the hands of Charles, who sent Didier to a monastery in France : his son Adalgise escaped to Constantinople.

Thus ended, in the year 774, the reign of the Lombards in Italy, after having lasted more than two hundred years. Such

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are the changes in human affairs. Charles was crowned king of Lombardy, or Italy, in a burgh called *Modece*, near Milan. The kingdom of Italy extended from the Alps to the river Ofante. The remainder, to wit, Calabria and Apulia, continued the emperor's, together with Sicily. Charles confirmed to the church of Rome the possession of the countries and cities which his father had given her, and added even some others not less considerable. He created Aregise, Didier's son-in-law, duke of Benevento; Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto; and Rotgaud, duke of Frioul. Such was the success of the first expedition into Italy.

The second was undertaken against Adalgise, who, on coming out of Verona, had taken refuge at Constantinople, where the emperor had created him a patrician, and given him an army of marines with which he was to land in Italy. He had brought over to his party Rotgaud, duke of Frioul. But Charles, leaving Saxony in the middle of winter, arrived in Italy when they least thought of it. He hindered Adalgise to enter that country; and having surprised Rotgaud, he caused his head to be cut off. Henry, in whom Charles had great confidence, was created duke of Frioul, a country of great importance,

portance, because it holds in subjection Germany, Italy, and the Adriatic sea, or gulf of Venice. He made a third expedition into Italy in order to carry to Rome his son Carloman, and get him baptized by Pope Adrian, his intimate friend. He was named Pepin, and was crowned on Easter-day the 15th of April 781, with his brother Louis, who was likewise crowned king of Aquitaine by the Pope.

The fourth expedition was undertaken against Aregise, Duke of Benevento, who, in concert with Tassillon, duke of Bavaria, began to be troublesome in Italy. Charles marched straight to Capua. Aregise, being terrified, submitted, and gave his second son as an hostage. Tassillon was obliged to swear fidelity anew; but having afterward taken bad advice, he excited the Huns against Charles. This prince immediately went into Bavaria, and defeated Tassillon and his son Theudon: then having assembled the greatest lords of Bavaria, he referred to their sentence the punishment of those rebels. The lords, after serious examination of the affair, unanimously condemned Tassillon to death; but Charles, who was merciful, and not at all bloody, changed that sentence into one more mild; for having ordered him to be shaved, he put him into the monastery of

of Olton. He joined the duchy of Bavaria to the crown of France, and after many battles, he gained at last this glorious fruit of his victories.

Meantime the generals of Pepin, whom Charles had made king of Italy, took Adalgise, who was making war in the seas of that country, and put him to death. Charles went a fifth time into Frioul, against the inhabitants of that duchy, who had killed their duke, Henry, and to revenge the affront done to Leo III. This pope had been elected in Adrian's place, and had sent, immediately after his election, legates to Charlemagne, to carry to him the standard of the city of Rome, and to beg him to send some great lord to represent him, and receive the oath of fidelity of the Roman people. The election of Leo III. had been made much against the inclination of Pascal, receiver of the first fruits, *primicer*, who, being a relation of that Pope, had perhaps expected to succeed him. Leo acquitted himself with sanctity, according to the rules of his sacred ministry, and was equally agreeable to the clergy and to the people.

Pascal kept always his hatred concealed; and, having engaged Campule, his relation, in his designs, with other flagitious persons, he made a secret conspiracy against the

the pope. They all together agreed to hire assassins, who were to attack him by surprise the first opportunity. As he went on horseback to the place where the clergy were assembled, by his order, to go in procession with him, the conspirators excited a sedition. At the same time appeared the assassins, who immediately threw the pope from his horse; and, without respecting so great and so holy a dignity, they endeavoured to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. The people were astonished, and fled away on all sides. Pascal and Cam-pule, who had accompanied the pope, as doing him a piece of honour, made a show of intending to defend him, and thrust him, quite terrified, into the church of St Sylvester, where they themselves endeavoured to pluck out his eyes, while, with loud cries, he called upon God to assist him. At last, extricated out of their hands by the divine protection, and the address of his chamberlain, he came to Spoleto to Duke Vinigise, who had succeeded Hildebrand. From thence he went to Charles at Paderborn.

This very benevolent and religious prince, moved with the pope's misfortunes, and with the violence which he had suffered, resolved to send to Rome some prelates and counts, to get true information of what

had passed, and of the crimes of which Leo was accused. For Pascal and Campule had complained first to the king by petition, in which they charged the holy pontiff with many great crimes. The ambassadors arrived at Rome, and brought thither the pope, who was received by every one with extreme joy. Having discovered the truth, they assured Charles of Leo's innocence, and ordered to arrest Pascal and Campule, whom they sent him under a strong guard, as guilty of various crimes.

The king, moved, as he ought, at the horror of their villanies, and the importance of the affair, went to Rome in person, and was there received with great affection by all the Roman people. Afterward he assembled the clergy and nobles of both nations, in St Peter's church, and there examined the whole affair. He heard all that Pascal and Campule had to say, both for their own justification, and against the pope. At last, having discovered that they were calumniators and malicious persons ; and, after the Pope had publicly purged himself by oath, in the manner directed by the canons, by laying his hand on the gospels, and protesting before God, that he was innocent of the crimes of which he was accused, Charlemagne, who was afterward proclaimed emperor, pronounced his sentence,

tence, declaring Pope Leo innocent, and condemning his enemies to death, which was changed into exile at the pope's request.

Whilst these things passed at Rome, the emperor, Constantine Pogonat, brought on himself, by his conduct, the hatred of all the people of Constantinople. This prince had divorced his wife, and married another. This action displeased the religious, who began publicly to reprove the emperor. This prince, on his part, took it very ill that they were so bold, and abused them. The populace were enraged at this; murmurs arose against the emperor; and they were but little from crying aloud, that it was an unjust and unsufferable thing to persecute good monks, for defending the innocent empress, or rather the law of God. The emperor found himself thereby exposed to the public hatred, but did not intend to alter his resolution.

The empress Irene, his mother, who had long hated and feared him, because he wanted absolutely to remove her from business, made use of this opportunity to resume the government, which she had quitted with regret. She seemingly flattered her son's passion, and was extremely complaisant to him; but, underhand, she instigated the zeal of those monks, and

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fomented the hatred of the people. At last the thing was driven so far, that, by the secret artifices of that ambitious woman, her son had his eyes put out, and died of it a short time after. Irene, by diminishing the taxes, and doing many acts of apparent piety, was so skilful in gaining the populace and the monks, that, by their means, she seized the vacant empire, and enjoyed it peaceably. When this news was carried to Rome, the citizens of that great city, not being able to resolve to live under the government of a woman, recollecting the ancient majesty of the Roman people, and thought that the emperor ought rather to be chosen at Rome than Constantinople.

Every body had their eyes upon Charles; the pope, the clergy, all the nobility, and even the populace, began to demand him for emperor. He did not incline to accept that dignity, whether from his natural modesty, or that, being already engaged in so many wars, he was afraid of bringing new troubles on himself; but, on Christmas-day, while he was present at divine service, and prostrate before St Peter's Confession, (so they call the place where his body was buried), the pope put on his head the emperor's crown, and, at the same time, all the people, with repeated acclamations, cried out, *God save Charles, always august,*

*august, great and pacific emperor, crowned by God, and may be ever be victorius.*

After this ceremony the pope paid his respects to the new emperor, in the manner in which they were formerly paid to the other emperors, and dated his letters by the years of his empire. Thus the Roman empire returned to the west, from whence it had been transferred; and the emperors in our days come from that origin. This is what we had to say concerning the expeditions and wars of Charlemagne in Italy. Let us now see what he did in Saxony.

After becoming, by the death of Carolum, master of all France, he marched against the rebellious Saxons: his principal design was to establish religion in their country.. They advanced against him as far as Osnabrug in Westphalia, where they were cut in pieces.. Charles took a very strong castle, which the Saxons had defended with all their power, where he beat to pieces the idol of their god Irmensul. Afterward, without stopping, he pursued them to the other side of the Weser.

It was observed in this expedition, that when there was a want of water in the army, whether by the fountains being exhausted by the troops, or by their being drained by some other accident, a spring was perceived to issue out of the foot of a mountain,

which served to water the whole army, and this was looked upon as a miracle. Though Charles had vanquished the Saxons, had taken hostages from them, and built forts upon the banks of the Weser, and of the Elbe, to keep the rebels in awe, they nevertheless revolted in his absence, whilst he was busied in other affairs, which was the reason that he did not quite subdue them till the thirteenth journey thither.

These great Saxon wars were chiefly carried on under the command of the famous Vitikind. He had been at first obliged to give his oath of fidelity to Charles; but as some time after that prince held at Paderborn an assembly of the nation to settle its affairs, Vitikind, in place of coming thither as he was ordered, retired into Denmark, from whence he returned immediately after Charles's departure, to disturb Saxony anew. Charles, busied in other matters, sent his lieutenants with a great army into that country, with orders to fight only with the Suabians. They fought the Saxons contrary to his orders, and were shamefully beat. Then the king marched in person, and forced Vitikind to retire once more into Denmark. Four thousand of the most mutinous Saxons were delivered to him, and he ordered them to be beheaded as an example to the rest. But scarce was

he

he returned into France, when Vitikind returned from Denmark, to stir up the Saxons to take arms again. Charles came back, and there happened a bloody battle, in which the Saxons were defeated, and Vitikind taken, with Albion the other general of the rebels. Instead of putting them to death, Charles pardoned them; which moved them so much, and especially Vitikind, that he turned Christian, and continued always faithful to God and the king. Thus that haughty courage, which could not be humbled by force, was won by clemency, and preserved an inviolable fidelity.

The Saxons nevertheless revolted again, and Charles, to have a nearer inspection of them, took up his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle. Thence he went often against the rebels, who, though always vanquished, nevertheless ceased not to take up arms again, and were even so bold as to cut in pieces the troops which the Sclavonians, a neighbouring people, were sending to Charles against the Huns. Then he gave them up to the fury of the soldiers, who made a terrible slaughter. These headstrong people nevertheless revolted with an obstinate courage, under the command of Godefroi king of Denmark, who had brought them a considerable succour. He was however forced to flee on the coming of Charles, who was then

then emperor. With this stroke he entirely subjugated the Saxons; and, for fear that they should again revolt, he transported them into Switzerland and Holland, and placed in their country the Sclavonians, and other nations, who were more faithful to him. After this victory he pushed his conquests very far along the Baltic sea, without any resistance.

He subdued with no less vigour the Huns, a wild nation, who live solely by robberies. These people did not dwell in towns, but shut themselves up in their large camps, which they called *ringues*, encircled with prodigious ditches, whither they carried their booty; that is to say, the spoils of the whole universe. They never thought they could be forced in their camp, so strongly were they fortified every where, and so numerous were the fosses which they had dug one within another, and the retrenchments into which they retired. Charles nevertheless broke through them, made himself master of all their plunder, and at last dispersed their armies, which were extended on all sides in order to pillage. He was seconded in this enterprise by his eldest son Charles, who drove the Huns out of the country which they possessed.

His fame was so great, that Abdérame himself, king of the Sarrazins, banished by his

his people, and pursued as far as Spain, whither he had retired, implored his assistance. He sent for that purpose Ibnalarabi his ambassador, at the time Charles was holding at Paderborn the assembly of which we have spoken. This prince doubted at first whether these infidels deserved his assistance; but he expected that on this occasion he might gain some advantage to religion, and to the Christians. With this view he ordered his troops to march into Spain, took Pampeluna, the capital of the kingdom of Navarre, after a long siege, and afterward Sarragossa, a city situated on the Ebro, capital of the kingdom of Arragon. He procured for the Christians an exemption from the tribute which they paid to the Moors; but as he returned, after settling the affairs of religion as well as he could, the Gascons who lived in the Pyrenees, a people accustomed to robbery, forming an ambuscade in the valley of Roncevaux, surprised in these strait passes a part of his rear-guard, and killed many illustrious French noblemen, among others, that famous Roland, Charles's nephew, so renowned for his exploits.

This is as much as I thought it my duty to touch slightly of the military achievements of Charlemagne, without confining myself to the order of time, and reducing the

the facts to some principal heads for the greater ease. I purposely omit several considerable wars, because, if I endeavoured to relate every thing, I should be more diffuse than the plan of my work permits; moreover, his fame for war was so far spread, that Aaron himself, caliph or prince of the Sarrasins, (whom our historians have called king of Persia), though he despised all other princes, sent him presents, and courted his friendship. Almost all the countries and kings of the west were subject to him, and he might easily have made himself master of that small part of Italy which acknowledged the eastern empire; but he refrained from that attempt, though often attacked by the emperors of Constantinople, either because he did so from moderation, or because he expected soon to unite under his government both west and east entirely, by the marriage proposed between him and the empress Irene, which was negotiating by embassies on both sides.

Nicephorus having expelled Irene, and made himself emperor, disappointed that scheme, and the Roman empire was divided between Nicephorus and Charles by common consent. Nicephorus reserved to himself in Italy only what he possessed there, the rest was given up to Charles with Illyricum. But Nicetas, a patrician of

of the east, took from him, some time after, that part of the coast of the Adriatic sea, called Dalmatia, and banished from Venice the lords of Charles's party. Pepin king of Italy did not find himself in a condition to take back Dalmatia, because he was busied in a war against the Sarrazins, who were cruising in the Tuscan seas.

The reign of Charles was extremely lucky ; he was always victorious when he commanded his armies in person, and was but rarely beat even when his lieutenants commanded ; but never had mortal man perfect happiness, and the greatest kings are liable to the greatest accidents. He lost his two eldest sons, Charles and Pepin, when they were in the flower of their age, and in the midst of their most glorious achievements. Charles had done wondrous things in Germany, and had conquered all Bohemia ; Pepin had driven the Avares, who possessed Illyricum, beyond the Save and the Drave, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Danube.

The emperor lost two sons of this merit in one year ; and had now only Louis remaining, who was not so far advanced in years as the others, nor equal to them in civil and military virtues. Charles died four years after the death of his sons : the fever seized him as he was working on the holy scriptures,

scriptures, and correcting a copy which had been given to him.

As soon as he fell sick, he assembled the grandes of the kingdom, and, by their advice, declared his son Louis king of France and emperor, and confirmed to his grandson Bernard, son of Pepin, king of Italy, the gift which he had given him of his father's kingdom, on condition that he should obey Louis. Louis put, by his order, the imperial crown on his own head. Charles died at the age of seventy-two years, after having reigned forty-eight years, and possessed the empire fourteen. The first and chief of his great qualities was his singular piety to God. He converted to the faith almost all Germany, and even Sweden, whither he sent doctors at that king's request.

Religion was the principal motive of the wars which he undertook. He protected with great zeal the Pope and the clergy, and was a particular defender of church-discipline. In order to restore it, he enacted very excellent laws, and assembled many councils through all his empire. He opposed heresies with invincible steadiness, and having got them condemned by councils, and by the holy see, he used the royal authority to destroy them entirely. He gave orders that divine service should be

be celebrated respectfully and decently throughout all his dominions, and especially at court. He never failed to be present at it, and behaved always with much attention and piety. He very often read the holy scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, which are useful for the perfect understanding of them. By these means he became very liberal to the poor; addicted to justice and reason; a strict observer of the laws, and of public right. At all hours he was ready to give audience, and to administer justice to every body, believing that to be his greatest concern, and the peculiar duty of kings. He usually employed the winter in settling the affairs of the kingdom, to which he gave very diligent attention with much justice and prudence. He has enacted, according to the manners of the various nations under his government, laws proper and necessary for the public utility, many of which are still in being, though others are lost.

He was extremely benevolent to his subjects, and to the unfortunate. He sent great charities into Syria, Egypt, and Africa, to relieve the distresses of the Christians. He has often been seen afflicted with the miseries of his subjects, even to shedding of tears. When the Normans and Sarrazins scoured both seas, and rava-

ged all the coasts, Charles visited in person all the ruined countries, to remedy those irregularities, and repair the losses of his people. We have already mentioned his clemency to Vitikind and Albion. As for the rest of the Saxons, it is true, he treated them rigorously, but it was not till after he saw that he could not win them either by reason or mildness.

He was not only expert in acting, but likewise in speaking; and indeed he had had excellent masters; he had learned grammar from Peter of Pisa, and the other sciences from Alcuin. He spoke the Latin with as much ease as his mother-tongue, and understood the Greek to perfection. He composed a grammar, in which he endeavoured to reduce to certain rules the old Teutonic language, which he usually spoke. He caused to be read to him at table, sometimes St Augustine's works, and sometimes the history of his predecessors; and this reading appeared to be the seasoning of his meals. He had undertaken to write the history of France, and had carefully collected what of it had been written in the preceding ages. He was so sedulous a student, that he was frequently overtaken by the night, as he was dictating or meditating on something. He rose even usually in the middle of the night to contemplate the stars,

or

or meditate on some other part of philosophy.

It would be unnecessary to relate his immense benefactions to churches and hospitals, seeing illustrious marks of his magnificence are found throughout all Europe. In fine, which is the height of all human honours, he has merited by his piety to have his memory celebrated in the martyrology ; so that having equalled Cæsar and Alexander in their military actions, he has a great advantage over them, by his knowledge of the true GOD, and his sincere piety. He has, with justice, acquired, by all these things, the appellation of Great ; and has been known under that name by the historians of all the nations of the world.

### L O U I S I .

Louis, called *the Well-bred, le Debonnaire*, the son of Charlemagne, acquired at first a great reputation for piety, by executing punctually his father's will ; but he made himself also many enemies, by endeavouring to reform certain abuses, which Charles, too much busied with wars, had not been able to correct. He repressed, amongst other things, the too great familiarity which some courtiers in the former reign had had with his sisters. This prince banished some

of them, and put others to death. He held, in 817, an assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, to reform the church-discipline, and in this famous assembly he associated in the empire Lotaire his eldest son. He destined him to be, after his death, the heir of all his kingdoms, in the same manner as he had himself received them from God, by the hands of his father Charlemagne : for though Louis le Debonnaire had given, at the same time, with the title of king, Aquitaine to Pepin, and Bavaria to Louis, his two other sons, they were to be dependent on Lotaire their eldest brother, and were to do nothing but by his orders ; but this wise subordination was destroyed, as will be seen in the sequel, by the intrigues of the empress Judith.

Mean-time Bernard king of Italy made war against his uncle, alledging, that he was the son of the elder brother, and that by this right the empire belonged to him. He advanced with a great army as far as the entry to the Alps ; but his troops dispersed as soon as they knew that the emperor was coming in person. Bernard seeing himself deserted, came and surrendered himself, in the city of Chalons on the Saone, to the emperor, who caused his eyes to be put out. This young prince died some time after, and Louis afterward

ward expiated that action by many tears, and by a public penance.

He had had three sons of his first marriage with Ermingarde, who died in 818, Lotaire, Pepin, and Louis : he was married a second time to Judith, daughter of Count Welphe, by whom he had Charles, to whom he gave also a great share. That occasioned great jealousy and discontent in his other children. At the same time those of Bernard's friends who remained, and the relations of such as Louis had banished or put to death, having united their forces together, formed a great party against him, and persuaded Lotaire to command them. They alledged to him as a reason, that Judith governed her husband absolutely, and had won him over by her sorceries ; and gave all the power to Bernard, count of Barcelona, her own gallant.

On the other side, Lotaire enraged to see that his name and title of emperor was no longer superscribed with those of his father to the letters addressed to the grandes of the nation ; and, besides, animated by the murmurs of several of them, who gave him to understand that there was an intention to destroy all the settlements so wisely made at Aix-la-Chapelle, by consent of all the French empire, to preserve

under one chief and sole head the kingdoms and provinces of the monarchy, which would be dismembered by the new divisions which the empress Judith was contriving : Lotaire, I say, persuaded by all these reasons, and by his own private interest, armed against his father in 830, and took him unprovided.

The empress Judith fell into his hands, and was shut up in a monastery. She promised, in order to get out of it, that she would induce the emperor to become a monk, and she got her liberty on that condition. In fact, Louis went into a monastery on her persuasion ; but a monk of St Medard hindered him from taking the tonsure, and brought over to his party Pepin and Louis his sons, who forced Lotaire to ask him pardon. The royal and paternal authority having received this blow, his children never afterward paid him a thorough obedience. Pepin not coming to an assembly, whither he had ordered him, he caused him to be arrested ; and as he escaped out of prison, his father deprived him of the kingdom of Aquitaine, and gave it to Charles.

All that was done on the solicitation of the empress, who wanted to augment the power of her own son with the spoils of Louis's other children. The three abused brothers

brothers joined together, and at last forced the emperor to divest himself of his dominions : he publicly put off the sword ; and the factious bishops, having dressed him like a penitent, declared him incapable of reigning. The people, moved with the affront put upon him, turned aside their eyes, not being able to behold so great a king dishonoured. Louis and Pepin pitied their father ; and Lotaire, who alone remained inflexible, was forced to fly into Burgundy. Louis, restored by the bishops and the lords, pursued him ; and as he besieged some places, his troops were repulsed by Lotaire's generals ; but when Lotaire, elated with that success, began to take courage again, Louis and Pepin forced him to come and ask the emperor's pardon.

The empress, however, instead of inducing her husband to shew gratitude to his two sons who had been so faithful to him, made an agreement with Lotaire to their prejudice, and persuaded the emperor to leave Pepin and Louis only their former portions of Aquitaine and Bavaria, and to divide all the rest of the kingdom between Lotaire and Charles. Thus this passionate stepmother brought division into the royal family, for the interest of her

her own son, without regarding reason or justice.

Some time after, upon the death of Pepin, the emperor took the kingdom of Aquitaine from his children to give it to Charles, and at the same time carried an army into that country to settle the new king. Louis king of Bavaria, who, after taking arms against his father, had been at first forced to ask pardon, revolted anew on occasion of the war in Aquitaine; and as his enraged father was marching to reduce him to reason, he was hindered from doing so by the distemper with which he was seized at the palace of Ingelheim, near Mentz, and of which he died the 20th of June 840.

### LOTAIRE the Emperor, &c.

Immediately after the death of Louis I. Lotaire took possession of Austrasia, and Charles of Neuftria. Lotaire at the same time took a fancy, that being the elder he ought to be the lord and sovereign of his brothers. In this imagination he was flattered by Pepin his nephew, who needed his assistance to preserve some remains of the kingdom of Aquitaine; but Charles defeated Pepin in a pitched battle, and would have entirely expelled him, if he had

had not heard that Lotaire had entered Neustria, and that the lords had taken his party. This unexpected piece of news made him return in all haste into his own kingdom. The two brothers agreed, that a parliament should be held at Attigni to settle matters ; and, in the mean time, they entered into an accommodation very disadvantageous to Charles. He went afterward to Attigni, whither Lotaire deigned not to come, thinking he could carry every thing forcibly against his two brothers, whom he did not imagine able to resist him.

Charles, however, being informed, that Louis was in a condition to stand his ground if he were but a little assisted, joined him with some very fine troops which the empress his mother had brought him. Lotaire was at first frightened with the junction of his two brothers ; but he recovered himself, when he saw that Pepin, king of Aquitaine, was come to his assistance : and after he had for some time amused his brothers with various proposals of accommodation, they were at last forced to determine matters by a battle. The victory, which was long disputed, remained at length fully secured to Charles and Louis, Lotaire, who set up on so high a key,

key, was forced to fly with Pepin his nephew.

Such was the event of that famous battle of Fontenay, the most obstinate and bloody that ever was seen. There were in it an almost infinite number of men, and four kings were seen commanding their armies in person. There were, at least, 100,000 French killed in it. Charles and Louis would not pursue Lotaire, both because they pitied his misfortune, and that they might save the lives of Frenchmen.

Some time after a peace was concluded, and the divisions of the three brothers were thus settled. Charles got Neustria, with Aquitaine and Languedoc; Louis, called *the German*, got all Germany, as far as the Rhine, and some villages on this side; Lotaire, who already had Italy, got, moreover, all that was between the kingdoms of his brothers; that is to say, what lies between the Rhine and the Meuse, the Saone and the Scheld. This is what was called the kingdom of Lotaire, and, in succeeding times, Lorraine; of which the dukes of Lorraine got a small part, which, at last, retained the name of the whole. To so extensive a dominion was also joined Provence, which bordered with the kingdom of Italy.

But the peace between the brothers was not

not of long duration, so violent was their passion for extent of dominion. Louis, who, till that time, had been very strictly united with Charles, listened to the proposals of the Aquitanians, who wanted to elect him king, which was the beginning of a long war among the brothers. Lotaire joined Charles, and proposed to hold a parliament, to regulate the affairs of the three kingdoms. Louis, who trusted in his own strength, and in the favour of the Aquitanians, rejected that proposal. Mean-time Lotaire, turning seriously religious, and having associated his son Louis with him in the empire, divested himself of it some time after, and retired into a monastery; but, previously, made a partition among his three sons. He gave to Louis Italy, with the title of Emperor; to Lotaire Lorraine; and to Charles Burgundy and Provence. He died some months after in the monastery; after giving there eminent examples of piety, and expiating, by many tears, the blood which his ambition had caused him to shed.

Mean-time the Normans made great devastations in France, on finding the kingdom divided by the wars among the brothers, and exhausted of forces, by the prodigious loss at the battle of Fontenay. Louis, king of Germany, was the first who entered

entered with an army into his brother's territories, whilst he was busied in making war against the Normans. Charles's subjects, discontented at his advancing strangers to their prejudice, went over to Louis, and introduced him into the midst of the kingdom. But, notwithstanding the benefactions with which that prince loaded them, they were not long before they changed their behaviour, and returned to the obedience which they owed to Charles. Louis was forced to betake himself to flight, and the bishops, some time after, made an accommodation between the two brothers, of which the conditions are not known.

After the peace, Baldwin Earl of Flanders carried off Judith, the daughter of Charles, and widow of Ethelwolph king of England, and married her against her father's will. The bishops of the kingdom excommunicated the ravisher, who applied to Pope Nicolas I. from whom he could only obtain letters of recommendation to the king. This great pope did not think he had power, contrary to the canons, to take off an excommunication pronounced by so many bishops : he confesses this himself, in the letter which he wrote, on that subject, to the bishops assembled at Senlis. However, Baldwin having shown in the sequel

quel a sincere repentance for his fault, the king was appeased, and consented to his daughter's marriage, at the pope's request. Young Lotaire left his wife, Teutberge, in order to marry Valdrade, with whom he fell in love.

Pope Nicolas I. having cut him off from the society of the faithful, he promised, at several times, to abandon that lewd woman, but never performed his promise. He went afterward into Italy, to the assistance of his brother Louis, who was attacked by the Sarrazins, and he intended, at the same time, to be reconciled to the pope. He was received to communion, on condition that he, and the lords of his retinue, should swear, when they received, that he had had no intimacy with Valdrade since the pope's last prohibition. All those who swore died within the year; Lotaire was himself soon seized with a fever, which became mortal; and every body interpreted the death of so many persons as a punishment of their perjury. Charles, king of Provence and Burgundy, his brother, had died in 863, without posterity.

This piece of news was carried to Charles *le Chauve*, the Bald, as he was holding his parliament at Pistes, near Pont de l'Arche. This prince thought he ought not to neglect so fine an opportunity of aggrandizing

zing himself, by making himself master of his kingdom ; and paid no regard to the right which the emperor Louis pretended to have in the dominions of his brother Lotaire. Pope Adrian II. took the emperor's side, and sent two bishops, his legates, to Charles le Chauve, and the grandees of his kingdom, to injoin them, on pain of excommunication, to leave Lotaire's kingdom to the lawful heir ; and he discharged, at the same time, the bishops of France to assist in so culpable an enterprise, declaring to them that he would regard them as mercenary pastors, and unworthy of the posts which they possessed, if they did not oppose Charles's designs with all their forces. But, notwithstanding the pope's menaces, that prince executed his scheme, and sent back the pope's legates, after having amused them with fine promises.

Moreover, the question was not, in this dispute, to know whether the kingdom of Lorraine was hereditary ; every one agreed in it ; and, besides, in a treaty concluded at Mersen, in 847, the three sons of Louis le Debonnaire had agreed, that the partitions of the fathers should be continued to their children. But the people of the kingdom of Lorraine argued, that they could not be obliged to acknowledge a king so remote from them as the emperor

ror Louis, who resided in Italy, especially at a time when they were continually exposed to the depredations of the Pagans, that is, of the Normans. They said, that Charles, Louis's uncle, was likewise heir of that kingdom ; that, by his proximity, he was more capable than Louis to govern them, and that so it was visibly that prince whom God destined for them.

These were the reasons which determined the bishop of Metz, and the other bishops of the same kingdom, to crown Charles in 869. But, the year following, he was forced to yield the half of it to Louis the German, his brother, who was like to declare war against him. Charles le Chauve, of a temper vain and ambitious, and who studied always rather to disturb the quiet of his neighbours, than to establish peace and tranquillity in his own dominions, which were exposed, through the whole course of his reign, to the cruel devastations of the Normans, had no sooner heard of the death of the emperor Louis, his nephew, which happened on the month of August in the year 875, than he set out for Italy, with a design to get himself there crowned emperor.

In vain did Louis the German send his two sons there to oppose it. Pope John VIII. gave him the imperial crown, on Christ-

mas-day 875, by the advice of the bishops of Italy, then assembled in council, and by that of the senate and all the Roman people, whose suffrage and consent the pope previously asked, as may be seen in the capitulary of that emperor. The death of Louis the German, which happened in the month of August 876, occasioned another war among his three sons; Carloman, Louis, Charles, and the emperor their uncle.

As soon as Charles le Chauve had got accounts of this death, he wanted to invade that portion of the dominions of the kingdom of Lorraine, which he had yielded to Louis, on pretext of his having broken the peace which subsisted between them. Louis, his nephew, was not able to appease him, neither by his intreaties, nor by the embassies which he sent him; on the contrary, he endeavoured to surprise him, in order afterward to get his eyes put out. Louis, having escaped the snares which he laid for him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and forced him shamefully to fly into France. After which the three brothers made their partition amicably: Carloman had Bavaria; Louis got Germany; Charles, who was called *le Gras*, the Fat, had Swiferland, and the neighbouring countries.

Through the whole course of this reign, the Normans had made great depredations over

over all France. Charles had opposed to them some brave and courageous lords, and, among the rest, Robert le Fort, the Strong, a branch of the royal family, which now fills the throne so gloriously. He was, according to some authors, son of Conrad, brother to the empress Judith, and, consequently, grandson of Duke Welphe of Bavaria. Charles le Chauve had made him a duke and marquis of France, count of Anjou, and abbot of St Martin, when he was killed, in 866, fighting against the Normans at Briffarte, in Anjou. His death raised the courage and hope of those Barbarians, whose main scheme was to take advantage of the divisions of the kings; as was also, in the Mediterranean, the practice of the Saracens, who, at that time, greatly infested Italy. The pope, being terrified, demanded assistance from Charles. This prince hastened to him in person: the empress Richilda, his wife, was crowned at Rome by the pope.

During the absence of that prince, the lords, and especially Boson, his brother-in-law, who had been ordered to come and join him, revolted. This rebellion, joined to the news of Carloman's arrival in Italy, obliged him to a shameful flight; but, having been seized with a violent distemper, after passing Mount Cenis, he died in a

village called Brios, the 6th of October 877, after an unfortunate reign of thirty-seven years, which was the fatal epoch of the declension of the Carlovingian family. Hated by his people, because he loaded them with taxes, and abandoned them to the fury and depredations of the Normans; despised by the grandees, whom he never could reward nor punish seasonably; always busied in projects, about acquisitions, which, by enlarging his dominions, did not make himself happier, and did not permit him to remedy the interior evils of the kingdom which his father had left him.

Such was Charles le Chauve, the Bald, whose weak government occasioned the frequent rebellions of his own children, and of the lords, who began, under his reign, to perpetuate in their families the great governments, which, under the preceding reigns, were only simple commissions, which it was not in the power of the following kings to get back out of the hands of the possessors. That was the origin of the new system of government which we shall see under the third race, and which lasted till the kings, by acquisitions, marriages, and confiscations of their rebellious subjects, reunited at last to their domains the great provinces, which had been, as it were, dismembered from them.

Louis

LOUIS II. called *le Begue*, the Stammerer.

LOUIS LE BEGUE, the son of Charles, being declared king by his father's will, was crowned at Compiegne, by Hincmar archbishop of Reims. Scarce was Charles dead, when the count of Spoleto imprisoned the pope, to oblige him to crown, king of Italy, Carloman king of Bavaria, the son of Louis the German. The pope, having escaped, came and took refuge in France, where he went to the king, who was then at Troyes. There was an interview between him and his cousin, Louis king of Germany, in which they divided Lorraine, and agreed to divide Italy. Louis le Begue did not survive long, and died of poison, (as is thought), after a reign of a few years, (879.).

## BOOK III.

## LOUIS III. and CARLOMAN.

THE house of Charlemagne, already humbled, from the time of Charles le Chauve, fell by degrees in the following reigns. Louis le Begue, when a-dying, and leaving his wife pregnant, recommended

mended the child she should have to the grandes of the kingdom, and chiefly to Abbé Hugh, brother of Robert le Fort, who, from the time of Charles le Chauve, was in great power, and begged them, that, if the queen had a son, they should put him on the throne of his ancestors. A short time after, the queen was delivered of a prince, who was named Charles; but the French lords could not resolve to give the title of king to that child, though some seemed inclined to favour him: so they made Louis and Carloman kings, the one of Neustria, and the other of Burgundy and Aquitaine, and got them anointed and crowned in the abbey of Ferrieres, by Ansegise archbishop of Sens. They were indeed children of Louis le Begue, but of a marriage which had been dissolved, because it was contracted without his father's consent.

Boson, whom Charles le Chauve had raised to great power, and who had rebelled against him, as we have observed in its place, got himself declared king of Burgundy. It was at Mantale, near to Vienne, that he received the crown by the hands of twenty-two prelates, archbishops, and bishops, among whom were the archbishops of Vienne, of Lyons, of Aix, of Arles, of Tarentaise, and of Besançon; and

and the bishops of Grenoble, of Marseilles, of Macon, of Viviers, of Uzez, of Lau-fanne, and others. Hugh, the son of Lo-taire and Valdrade, ravaged also Lorraine, which, he pretended, belonged to him. He was immediately defeated, in a pitched battle, by the two brothers, and by the lieutenant of Louis king of Germany. Boson, being afterward defeated by Louis and Carloman, kings of France, and by Charles le Gras, the Fat, retired to Vienne, a considerable city on the Rhone, which was immediately attacked by these three kings.

While that city was besieged, Charles le Gras went into Italy, where he had been already crowned king of Lombardy, and was crowned emperor by Pope John VIII. Afterward, on the death of his brother, Louis the German, without sons, he re-turned into Germany, to take possession of his kingdom. Louis, king of Neustria, left likewise the siege of Vienne, in or-der to oppose the Normans, who were ma-king incursions into France ; and, having gained a considerable victory, he died some time after. So the two kingdoms, that is to say, Burgundy and Neustria, were in Carloman's power. He left, at the siege of Vienne, Richard, Boson's brother, his lieutenant,

lieutenant, and marched against the Normans.

As he was at Autun, Richard being victorious and master of Vienne, brought him Boson's wife and daughter : he himself nevertheless found means to return into his own states, for which he did homage in 882 to Charles le Gras, and died at Vienne in 887. As for Carloman, plagued, as well as the emperor his cousin, by the incursions of the Normans, they redeemed with a large sum the plunder of their country. Carloman did not live long after, being killed in 884 at hunting in the forest of Iveline by a wild boar, or, as some say, by one of the hunters who was shooting at the beast. This prince was buried at St Denys.

### CHARLES III. furnameD, LE GRAS, the Fat.

It was thought that the young prince Charles was to be called to the succession of the kingdom after the death of his brothers ; but as he was not yet fit for business, on account of his nonage, (for he was scarce seven years old), the grandees put the kingdom into the hands of the Emperor Charles le Gras, who by that means became possessed of the whole empire of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne. Young Charles however, to whom the emperor confirmed the government of that part of France between the Seine and the Loire, and which is called the duchy of France, of which Paris was the capital, continued under the tuition of Abbé Hugh. Charles le Gras, a prince of a mean genius, had not capacity to take advantage of his being in possession of so many kingdoms, in order to perform some action becoming the power with which he was invested.

If he be commended for his religious zeal, his learning, and some other good qualities, there are likewise related of him some shameful actions, into which he suffered himself to fall through bad counsels : for Godfrey general of the Normans, and afterward, Hugh son of Lotaire and Valdrade, having come to visit him upon his word, Henry, duke of Saxony, persuaded him to put the one to death, and the other into a monastery, after putting out his eyes. The Normans being irritated, attacked Paris in 886, and used their utmost efforts to make themselves masters of it. This siege, which lasted near a year, gave time to the emperor to come and assist the Parisians, who owed their preservation solely to the bravery of count Eudes, who mounted the throne soon after,

ter, and to the courage of Gozelin bishop of Paris, and several other lords who had shut themselves up in that city. Charles, instead of seconding them, chose rather to oblige the Normans to raise the siege for seven hundred pounds of silver, which he ordered to be given them: and being offended with the people of Burgundy, he gave them liberty to live at discretion in part of it till the month of March 887, that they were to return home,

Thus this prince despised every where, having returned into Germany about the end of the year 886, the sovereign power was taken from him, and given by the assembly of the German lords to Arnold, a bastard of Carloman, king of Bavaria, whom his father had created duke of Carinthia. Charles was no less despised in France. Thus destitute of all assistance, wanting every thing, even to the necessaries of life, he with difficulty obtained from Arnold some villages for his subsistence; and so great an emperor died at last a short time after, overwhelmed with poverty and grief, in the month of January 888.

#### E U D E S.

The emperor Charles le Gras' being dead without children, there remained of the

the race of Chatlemagne no male, born in lawful marriage, but Charles the son of Louis le Begue, the Stammerer. The Neustrians however, who afterward were peculiarly called the *French*, for fear of submitting to a child, chose rather to elect for their king Eudes, the son of Robert le Fort, the Strong. Mean-time Guy count of Spoleto, and Berenger duke of Frioul, descended by females from the house of Charlemagne, made themselves masters of Italy, the one as emperor, the other as king of the Lombards. Berenger banished by Guy, retired to Arnold king of Germany, and Italy remained, though not very peaceably, in the possession of Guy. Eudes's power was no better established in France: for the kingdom was divided under that prince; most of the dukes and counts, and even the bishops of some cities, who were powerful, reckoned themselves sovereign princes in their own domains, only paying homage to the king.

The Normans, though often subdued, returned always into France in greater numbers, and with greater boldness. The opinions of the lords were divided; few were obedient to the king, because Charles, who was already considerably grown up, brought over most of them to his party. At last, as they were just going to

put him on the throne of his ancestors, Eudes, of his own accord, divided the kingdom with him, reserving to himself only a part; and even that, when he was dying, he commanded to be entirely restored to him.

CHARLES IV. surnamed LE SIMPLE,  
the Simple.

The power of the nobles, which had been enlarged more than was proper in the preceding reigns, was advanced so high during the reign of Charles, that it destroyed almost entirely the power of the king. Charles had made a vigorous attack on the kingdom of Lorraine, and had already advanced victoriously as far as Worms, when the grandees of the kingdom, fearing he would reduce them to reason if he got the victory, and that he would weaken the power which they intended not only to preserve to themselves, but even to leave in their families, took arms against him.

R O B E R T.

They made Robert, brother of Eudes, king, and deprived Charles. They complained, that he was entirely devoted to  
Aganon,

Aganon, a man of low birth. This was the pretext for their rebellion. Hervé, archbishop of Rheims, alone continued faithful, and Charles was soon restored by his assistance: but he did not stand long; for Hugh, the son of Robert, demanded of the king the abbacy of Chelles, which his ancestors had possessed, and the king gave it to Aganon, against Hugh's interest. Thence arose new troubles, and the civil wars were kindled again. At last, the party in opposition to the king was so powerful, that Robert was crowned king at Rheims by the same Hervé who had performed so great services for Charles. The king, who was then in Lorraine, on hearing this returned speedily into France. A great battle was fought, in which Robert was killed with a lance, as he was fighting in the foremost rank, and, some say, by Charles's own hand. The power of the party was not ruined by Robert's death.

## RALPH.

HUGH his son took upon him the command of the rebels; and if the jealousy of the nobles hindered him to assume the title of king, he had sufficient interest to raise to the royalty Ralph duke of Burgundy, who had married his sister Emma. Charles was

forsaken by his subjects, and forced to implore the assistance of Henry l'Oiseleur, the Fowler, king of Germany, by offering to him the kingdom of Lorraine. Henry, engaged by this hope, sent him a considerable succour. Ralph, Hugh, and the other lords, not being powerful enough to get free of this danger by main force, extricated themselves from it by a trick. Hebert count of Vermandois, who was the chief support of the party, a man able to contrive and conduct a cheat, went to wait upon Charles, and promised to surrender to him Peronne, a strong fortification on the Somme, as a pledge of his own fidelity.

Charles, suspecting nothing, had no sooner entered the place than he was arrested; thence he was carried prisoner to Chateau-Thierry. Ogine his wife fled to her brother Athelstane king of England. Ralph, by this means, continued king of France; but the traitor Hebert demanded Laon as a recompense for his crime. Upon Ralph's refusal of that place, Hebert made as if he would set Charles at liberty, and carried him from town to town, showing him as at freedom. At last Laon was given him; and he put that poor prince in prison again, where he died of grief. He was a very unfortunate king, who did not want courage nor resolution in war, but who was called

called *Simple*, on account of his excessive facility and easiness of temper.

In this reign, Rollo duke of Normandy, famous in the cabinet and in the field, a very just legislator among his people, took Rouen, and got himself instructed in the Christian religion by Franco archbishop of that city. He obtained first a truce, and then a solid peace, and that part of Neustria, which is now called Normandy, for which he did homage to the king. Charles gave him his daughter Gisele in marriage, and a grant of the homage of Brittany to be received by the dukes of Normandy, on condition of their paying it to the crown of France.

We must now briefly relate what happened to the remains of the house of Charlemagne in Italy and Germany during the reign of Charles the Simple. We have said that Germany, from the lifetime of Charles le Gras, the Fat, had submitted to Arnold, a bastard of Carloman king of Bavaria, and that Berenger, on his expulsion from that country, had taken refuge with him.

Arnold undertook to protect him, and marched into Lombardy, whence he drove Guy, who had taken possession of it, and restored Berenger. On his return to Germany, he held an assembly at Worms, where Zuintbolde, his bastard, was declared king of

Lorraine. Recalled a second time into Italy by Pope Formosus, he took Rome. A hare was the occasion of an acquisition so considerable; for one being raised before the camp, all the soldiers pursued it towards the city, whither it fled. The guards on the walls thought the whole army was advancing to the assault with scaling-ladders; being immediately seized with a panic, they threw down their arms, and left the city defenceless to the mercy of the Germans, who were climbing up on all sides on the walls. Arnold, now in possession of Rome, was crowned emperor by Pope Formosus in the year 896. Afterward he endeavoured in vain to retake Lombardy, which Lambert, the son of Guy, had recovered, and to get rid of Berenger treacherously. The horror conceived at this last action caused him to be expelled Italy.

Lambert, after his retiring, was declared emperor, and Berenger was long at war with him. He was himself made emperor after Lambert's death, and reigned to extreme old age, with a great variety of good and ill fortune. At last he ended his life unhappily, being killed by his servants. After his death, Italy troubled with civil wars, and invaded by kings who banished each other, was equally ravaged by the conquerors and conquered.

Mean-

Mean-time Arnold dying in Germany, Louis his son, at seven years of age, was crowned, and put under the tuition of Otho duke of Saxony, his brother-in-law. He got afterward, not only the kingdom of Germany, but also that of Lorraine; for Zuintibolde, addicted to the gratification of his passions, and to intemperance, suffered himself to be governed by women, and gave, at their pleasure, employments to persons of the lowest birth, by which he exposed himself to the contempt of the nobles. By these means he drew on himself the public hatred: his subjects fought against him, and he was forsaken by his servants. He revenged himself by ravaging every thing with fire and sword with implacable hatred. Those whose estates he had destroyed, and whose houses he had burnt, driven to despair, called Louis, and took up arms in all quarters. A bloody battle was fought, in which Zuintibolde was vanquished and slain.

Louis was master of the whole kingdom, and died himself soon after, at near twenty years of age, without male issue. Of two daughters that he had had, the one was married to Conrad duke of Franconia, and the other to Henry, the son of Otho, duke of Saxony. By advice of this Otho, Conrad was declared king of Germany,

Germany, from whence Henry, Otho's son, undertook to expel him. Conrad defeated and vanquished in this war, received a mortal wound in one of its battles, and caused the ensigns of royalty to be carried to Henry his enemy, surnamed the Fowler.

Thus the male line of Charlemagne failed in Germany as well as in Italy, and even the last remains of a family so powerful were there extinguished by degrees. Others took possession of the vacant kingdoms, and separated them into several parts: but we must resume the thread of our history. Upon the death of Charles the Simple, Ralph reigned somewhat more quietly, and he even gained a great victory over the Normans. Nevertheless his authority was not so high as to hinder the bloody wars which the lords made against each other. He found it extremely difficult to reconcile Hugh and Herbert, and died soon after.

#### Louis IV. D'OUTREMER, the Transmarine.

Matters were in such condition, that Hugh might have made king whom he thought proper. The jealousy of the nobles hindered him from making himself the person; so he caused to return from England Louis, who for that reason was called

called *d'Outremer*, the Transmarine, that he might have a king entirely dependent on him. This prince, son of Charles the Simple, wanted to recover Normandy by very wicked artifices ; for William duke of Normandy, the son of Rollo, having been assassinated by Arnold earl of Flanders, and having left his son Richard in nonage, Louis carried him to Laon, making the Normans believe he would there have him better educated than in his own country. He was preparing, say some authors, to burn the tendons of his hams, that, being lame and maimed, he might be reckoned incapable of reigning and commanding armies ; but his governor being informed of the plot, carried him off to Senlis, in a basket covered with herbs, to Bernard his uncle by the mother. Louis entered with an army into Normandy ; the Normans marched to engage him, and the two armies having met, there was a bloody battle fought, in which the king was beat and made prisoner. Hugh immediately called the parliament, where, in a full meeting, he said many things in favour of the royal authority. It was resolved, by his advice, that the king should be brought out of prison, on giving his own second son as a security, and that young Richard should be re-established in his dominions. The condition

dition was accepted by the Normans, and Hugh received Louis from their hands; but he would never set him at liberty till he first gave him the city of Laon. He was forced to do this; but he retook it a little time after, by the assistance of some troops which he had brought from Germany. He afterward made war for a long time against Hugh, whose power he was not able to ruin by all his efforts.

His mother Ogine married Hebert count de Troyes, son of that Hebert count de Vermandois, who had cheated Charles by a base piece of treachery, and who, troubled in his conscience with remorse for so great a crime, died like one in despair. With respect to the king, he made peace with Hugh after many battles. He did not long enjoy that tranquillity; for he fell from his horse at hunting, while he was driving after a wolf at full gallop, and died a short time after of the bruises he received by his fall.

### LOTAIRE.

HUGH, in whose power affairs were, chose rather to raise to the crown Lotaire, the eldest son of Louis, who was still a child, than to excite against himself the hatred of the grandees, by taking the title  
of

of king, which would have exposed him to envy; but he continued nevertheless master of the kingdom, and Gerberge, Lotaire's mother, was not in a condition to refuse him what he desired. He possessed the greatest employments, and had the most considerable governments. He was duke of France and Burgundy, and got also the duchy of Aquitaine. He died in the first years of Lotaire's reign. It is said of him, that he reigned twenty years without being a king. He was called *le Blanc*, the White, on account of his complexion; *Grande*, Great, on account of his tallness and his power; and *Abbé*, on account of the abbeys of St Denys, of St Germain-des-Prés, and of St Martin of Tours, which he possessed.

Hugh his son succeeded to his power and employments, for which he did homage to the king, and he increased yet more his riches and titles of honour. About the same time a furious war broke out between Otho king of Germany and Lotaire. This last having marched his army as far as Aix-la-Chapelle, thought to surprise Otho as he sat at table: he escaped, and fled with the lords of his company. Otho, in his turn, over-ran almost all France with a great army, and approached Montmartre, a mountain near Paris, where he wanted, he said, to sing a *Hallelujah*. He caused that

that saying to be repeated to Hugh Capet, who lost no time in marching against that prince, who threatened him : he killed many of his men, and put him to flight. A little after Lotaire died, and left his son Louis, who was nineteen years of age, under the tuition of Hugh. Charles his brother was reckoned the enemy of the kingdom of France ; for King Otho had created him duke of Lorraine, solely to defend that frontier of the Germans against the French.

Louis V. surnamed LE FAINEANT,  
The idle Fellow.

As soon as Lotaire was dead, his son Louis, who had been crowned in the lifetime of his father, in 979, and married to Blanche, daughter of an Aquitanian lord, was acknowledged king by all the grandees of the state ; but his reign was not long ; he was poisoned, as is said, by his wife Blanche, after a reign of a year and four months. When Louis V. died, there remained no more princes of the race of Louis le Debonnaire, but Charles duke of Lorraine, brother of King Lotaire. Charles was hated by the French lords, because he passed his life in Germany, despising France, and because he chose rather to do homage to King Otho for that part of Lorraine

raine which he possessed, than to King Lo-taire his brother, against whom he was often at war, and on whose dominions he often made depredations.

Hugh Capet then cunningly taking advantage of these causes of hatred, had prepared a road for his own acquiring the sovereign power, to which his granduncle Eudes, and his grandfather Robert, had been raised by the suffrages of the grandees of the nation.

I have already observed, that from the reign of Charles le Chauve, the Bald, the lords had begun to make their sons succeed in the duchies and counties which they possessed; and that had become a custom when Hugh Capet came to the throne.

This prince, nephew by his mother to the emperor Otho I. was the most powerful lord of the kingdom of France, which then comprehended all the countries between the ocean and the rivers of the Scheld, the Meuse, the Saone, and the Rhone, and was extended beyond the Pyrenean mountains; Catalonia, and Roussillon were likewise a part of it. He possessed in property all the lands of the duchy of France, which had at first been given to Robert le Fort, the Strong, his great-grandfather; and indeed Hugh the

Great was called prince of the French, the Burgundians, the Bretons, and the Normans, because that great government comprehended originally all those provinces.

The successors of Robert le Fort, the Strong, who possessed the duchy of France, preserved a right of pre-eminence over such as were dukes or counts of those countries: for that reason the dukes of Normandy, though they never did homage but to the kings, called nevertheless the dukes of France their lords, as did Richard I. duke of Normandy, to Hugh Capet, even before the elevation of that prince to the throne of France. Higher Brittany was also within the jurisdiction of that duchy, as appears by the donation which the dukes Robert and Hugh the Great made of that country to the Normans on the Loire. As to Burgundy, it was then possessed by Eudes Henry, brother of Hugh Capet. King Robert, nephew of Eudes Henry, took possession of it, after his death, as of an hereditary estate: in fine, the duchies of Anjou and Chartres held also of the duchy of France.

Hugh Capet being then in so high estimation in the kingdom, in the middle of which his own estates were situated, it is not wonderful, that, having already had a granduncle (Eudes) and a grandfather (Robert

bert II.) kings of France, there was an intention to make him king, in exclusion of Charles duke of Lorraine.

Moreover, his elevation by the grandes was not a new thing : there had been before seen more than one example of it in the vast monarchy of Charlemagne ; several princes who were not of the race of that great emperor, had taken the title of king in Italy and Germany.

We have seen that Boson, brother-in-law of Charles le Chauve, the Bald, had been declared king of Burgundy on this side Jura, or of Arles, by the bishops and lords of that country. Rodolph, the son of Conrad, count of Paris, a relation of Hugh Capet, had settled himself in Burgundy beyond the Jura, and had taken the title of king : he would have done the same thing in the kingdom of Lorraine, if the emperor Arnold had not opposed it. So when the grandes of France chose for themselves a new king in the person of Hugh Capet, it did not look so strange as it appears to us at this time\* : it was on  
the

\* It is well known, that none of the three races of the kings of France had any right to the crown, before the election of the kings who are their chiefs. But when once the French put the diadem on their head, it was always on condition that it should pass to

the same conditions as they had chosen the kings of the first and second race, that is to say, on condition that the crown should pass to their descendants in a direct male line, agreeable to the system of their government. For, as Foulques, archbishop of Rheims, said to the emperor Arnold, it was a thing known to all nations, that the crown of France was hereditary, and children there succeed to their father.

Such is the origin and splendor of the house of Hugh Capet, whose posterity has reigned for 700 years over the French, and which has given kings to Italy, Poland, Hungary, Navarre, and emperors to Constantinople.

## B O O K IV.

## HUGH CAPE T.

**A**S I derive my origin from the Capestingians, I design to write their history at greater length than I have done that of the two preceding races\*.

their male descendants, agreeably to the system of their government, as has been seen in the two preceding races, and as will further appear in the history of Hugh Capet's successors.

\* It is the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV. who is speaking here. See the prefatory advertisement.

Hugh

Hugh Capet, chief of this last race, was crowned at Noyon, by the archbishop of Rheims, in the year 987. Six months after, he associated his son Robert to the royalty: but the first years of this reign were not peaceable; whether because several lords on the other side the Loire refused to acknowledge Hugh's title, or because Charles, duke of Lorraine, mad with grief to see himself deprived of the kingdom, raised troops, and made himself master of Laon and Rheims. Hugh marched immediately against the lords of Aquitaine, whom he obliged to acknowledge his sovereignty. Borel, count of Barcelona, also did homage to him. Hugh turned afterward his arms against Charles, who at first defeated him and forced him to fly; but that prince not knowing how to take advantage of his victory, shut himself up in the city of Laon, whose bishop Hugh had gained over to his side; this traitor, called Ascelin-Adalberon, betrayed Charles, who was conducted to Orleans, where he died some time after. He left three children who took refuge in Germany. Though Hugh was powerful by himself, his authority was nevertheless weakened by that which the lords had assumed in their own provinces, and that prince supported the title of king rather

by cunning and prudence, than by strength and authority. He died after a reign of ten years, and was buried at St Denys. He left the kingdom to his only son Robert, who began to humble the pride of some lords.

### ROBERT.

This prince had married Bertha, widow of Eudes, Count de Blois, and sister of Rodolphus III. king of Burgundy ; but, as she was his relation within the prohibited degrees, Pope Gregory V. in a council at Rome, held in 998, declared that he should be excommunicated if he did not leave her : the king submitted, though with some difficulty. Henry, his father's brother, having left by will the duchy of Burgundy to Otho-William count of Burgundy, Robert pretended that the will had been suggested ; and, though that Count had got on his side several French lords, the king, assisted by Richard duke of Normandy, made himself master of Burgundy, as of an heritage which belonged to him, and obliged Otho-William to content himself with his own county, situated beyond the Saone.

Robert, after having repudiated Bertha, who nevertheless continued to take the title of queen, thought of contracting

a new alliance, and married Constance, daughter of William I. count of Provence, a woman haughty and imperious, to that height, that she made use of the assassins, sent her by Foulques count d'Anjou, to kill Hugh de Beauvais, count Palatine, the king's first minister, because she could not bring him over to her mind. Robert took no notice of this injury, to avoid greater inconveniences. He brought to reason, partly by his authority and partly by strength of arms, some lords who were making disturbances in the provinces, and violating the rights of the church.

As he had had some differences with the emperor Henry II. after things were accommodated, it was resolved, in order to strengthen the friendship between these two princes, so illustrious for their virtues, that they should have an interview. They came to the banks of the Meuse, which separated their dominions. There were boats ready to carry them to the middle of the river, where they were to converse together; for so matters had been regulated. The emperor, having passed first to the opposite bank of the river, was received by the king most magnificently and honourably. The day after the king went also to visit the emperor, who entertained him in the same way that he had been received.

There

There have been observed in King Robert many admirable virtues, among others his piety and clemency. He caused the communion to be administered to some persons who were accused of having conspired against him; and, after that, would not suffer them to be examined for that crime, saying, that he could not resolve to take vengeance on those whom his master had received at his table. He was very charitable to the poor; he had even 200 of them in his retinue, whom he served in person; and our historians observe that he had cured some of them by his touch. His principal attention was to take care that the lords should administer justice to their people, and, to effectuate that purpose, he employed all his authority.

He had had an elder son, named Hugh, whom he had caused to be crowned in his own lifetime, and of whom he had been deprived by death at the age of twenty-eight years, in 1026. At last, after a reign of thirty-four years, he died at Melun, in 1031, and left three sons, Henry, Robert, and Eudes. The first was his successor, and the second was the branch of the ancient dukes of Burgundy.

HENRY

## HENRY I.

CONSTANCE, already enraged that Henry had been made king in her husband's life-time, in 1027, instead of Robert, her younger son, whom she favoured, began her cabals again when he mounted the throne : she engaged in her party some lords, and obliged the king to retire into Normandy, with eleven more : he returned at the head of a powerful army, with which he reduced Robert ; he treated in the same manner his other brother Eudes, who had likewise declared war against him. After these confusions were appeased, he governed the kingdom peaceably. However, in the last years of his reign, he had some disadvantage in the war which he carried on against William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, who had succeeded Robert II. his father, who died in Asia in the city of Nice, on his return from a pilgrimage which he had made into Palestine.

Those pilgrimages began to be fashionable, especially among the Norman lords, who set the example to the rest. Foulques count d'Anjou, who had caused Hugh de Beauvais to be assassinated, did public penance at Jerusalem for his crimes : he ordered one of his servants to drag him through the streets as far as the holy sepulchre,

pulchre, with a cord about his neck, while another lashed him with rods; he asked pardon of God aloud with many tears.

King Henry, after having got the crown put on the head of his son Philip, in 1059, when but seven years old, died the year following at Vitry, a castle lying in the forest of Bievre, or Fountainbleau.

### P H I L I P I.

PHILIP had for a tutor, in his infancy, Baldwin count of Flanders, his uncle by the mother's side. The Gascons having rebelled in the beginning of his reign, this prince raised a great army to reduce them; but, designing to surprise them, he made a shew of carrying the war into Spain against the Saracins; and, coming into the country on that pretext, he fell upon them unexpectedly, and obliged them to submit.

William duke of Normandy, called the *Conqueror*, having subdued England, got himself crowned king of that country. As he had promised the duchy of Normandy to his son Robert, and had not given it to him, Robert declared war against him. There was a great battle fought, in which the father and son met. The son, without knowing his father, laid him on the ground with

with a thrust of his lance : there was instantly a cry that it was the king. The young prince, amazed, lighted from his horse, and threw himself at his father's feet. William, moved with his tears, pardoned him, and gave him the duchy which he was demanding.

William was fat and bulky. Philip asked one day, in a joke, when he should be delivered ? The prince, being informed of that piece of raillery, ordered him to be told, That it would not be long ; and, that, as soon as he should get up again, he would go and make him a visit with 10,000 lances, instead of wax-candles. In fact, in a short time, he made much devastation in the kingdom. See what usually the railgeries of princes produce ; they excite cruel hatreds, and often bloody wars.

It was in the reign of Philip that Peter the Hermit preached up the crusade, that is to say, a league against the Mahometans, who kept in slavery the Christians in the Holy Land, and those of almost all the East. Pope Urban II. came into France, whence most assistance was expected, and, having held a council of 310 bishops, at Clermont in Auvergne, he animated the princes and nations to that enterprise. 300,000 men took the cross, who composed three great armies ; of which one, commanded by Peter

ter the Hermit, committed horrible ravages in Hungary, through which it passed. These unruly and undisciplined troops were guilty of the greatest irregularities, pillaging the effects of their hosts, ravishing their wives and daughters, and setting fire to every thing in their way. After this manner, they said, they were preparing to treat the Turks. The Hungarians killed a great number of them, and the remainder, after passing the straits of Constantinople, was entirely defeated, near Nice, in Asia Minor, by Soliman sultan of Nice.

The two other armies, composed of the flower of the nobility, joined in the same country, where Hugh the Tall, brother of Philip, and Robert duke of Normandy, though they were of royal birth, yielded the command to Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, on account of his valour and capacity in the conduct of war.

As they were continuing their march, Soliman opposed it, and was defeated. The crusaders, *croisés*, took Nice, the capital of his kingdom, and cut in pieces an army of 100,000 men, whom the allies of the Turks sent to their assistance. The victorious army over-run Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, and laid siege to Antioch, which held out seven months. The Christians, after taking it, besieged Jerusalem, and took

took it. Godfrey was elected king of it; but, as they were going to put the regal crown on his head, he said, he would not be crowned as a king, where his Master, treated like a slave, and crowned with thorns, had suffered so many reproaches and indignities.

Some time after, the sultan of Egypt sent an army of 400,000 foot, and 100,000 horse, to besiege Jerusalem. Godfrey was not afraid to march against this innumerable multitude with an army of 15,000 foot and 5000 horse. He returned victorious from this battle, and took all Palestine, excepting a very few towns. God, irritated against the Christians, did not permit them long to enjoy so great a king. He died the same year that he had been crowned, extremely regretted by every body. His piety and justice were still more remarkable than his valour, and he alone was capable of supporting the affairs of the Christians in that country.

Baldwin, his brother, succeeded him, but he had neither the same authority nor the same success: 300,000 men took the cross to go to his assistance. Alexis, emperor of the East, deceitfully destroyed 50,000 of them, who were passing through his dominions: those who commanded them, such as Hugh the Tall, who was

going a second time into Palestine, with the Count de Blois, had difficulty to escape into Cilicia. Thus this great army was ruined and miserably dissipated. Hugh, the king's brother, died of the wounds he had received, and was buried at Tarsus.

Whilst all Europe was busied in so great actions, Philip was passing away his life in pleasure. He was become desperately enamoured with Bertrade, his kinswoman, and wife of Foulques Rechin, count d'Anjou; he had even married her after taking her by force from her husband. The pope, having declared this marriage null, excommunicated the king. That prince laughed at the excommunication; and, long after, he got his marriage approved and confirmed by an apostolical legate in a council.

Philip, continuing to lead an effeminate and lazy life, thought of nothing becoming a king. His slothful inactivity gave hopes to William Rufus, king of England, son of the Conqueror, that he might make himself master of France. He began with Normandy, which he wanted to seize in absence of his brother Robert, who was at the Holy Land. The thing happened according to his expectation; but when Robert returned, he drove him out of Normandy, and back into England.

The

The wars continued a long time between these two brothers, and were at last terminated by the taking of Robert, whom, according to some authors, his brother deprived of his sight, by causing a basin of flaming copper to be placed before his eyes; but other authors do not mention that piece of cruelty. During this time the young prince Louis, son of Bertha, whom Philip had repudiated, being grown up, appeared capable of the management of affairs. And indeed the king his father intrusted to him all his power, which he used with as much prudence as justice.

He hindered, either by address, or even by force, the lords from oppressing their subjects, and particularly the churchmen. His steadiness made him to be feared and respected through all the kingdom: but as he sometimes used his power for the protection of unworthy actions, the lords declared they would obey him no longer. So true is it that justice is the real support of the prince's authority.

The emperor Henry V. who had been so audacious as to put his father Henry IV. in prison, forced likewise Pope Pascal II. to take refuge in France. The king and his son Louis prostrated themselves before him, and by their mediation peace was made between the pope and the emperor. This pope ha-

ving held a council at Troyes, declared the marriage null that had been agreed between Louis and the princess Luciana, daughter of Guy count de Rochefort; which occasioned between Louis and the count a war, in which Louis got the victory.

This prince had been long sickly, occasioned by the poison which his stepmother Bertrade had given him, in order to make the kingdom fall into the hands of the children which she had had by Philip; but he recovered his health, and succeeded his father, who died some time after in 1108, at the castle of Melun, after a reign of forty-nine years. He was buried in the abbey of St Benedict on the Loire.

### Louis VI. surnamed LE GROS, the Big.

As soon as Louis was crowned at Sens, he marched his troops against Guy count de Rochefort, who was making war against him with some others of his allies. He took their strongest fortifications; but they found themselves enabled to continue the war by means of a difference which happened between France and England.

Louis pretended that Henry I. of England, when doing him homage for Normandy, had promised to demolish Gisors. Henry said the contrary. Louis maintained strenuously

strenuously what he had advanced, and sent to challenge the king of England to single-combat, meaning thereby to prove, according to the custom of the time, that what he had said was true. Henry declined the challenge; so that they were obliged to come to a general battle, in which the English were vanquished. The confederate lords, nevertheless, joined the king of England; and even Philip, Louis's brother, trusting in the interest of his mother Bertrade, espoused that party. The king suspecting this, seized immediately the two fortifications which he had, Mante and Montléri.

About the same time Louis protected Thibauld count de Chartres against Hugh, lord of Puiset, who wasted his country; but the ungrateful count had the audacity to challenge Louis about a castle which he was continuing to fortify on the frontiers of his country, though the king had prohibited him to finish that work. Louis accepted the challenge, and gave his own steward to fight against the count's chamberlain. The lords, out of respect for the king, would not appoint a place for that combat, so that Thibauld declared war against him. He joined the king of England and the other confederates; but the king nevertheless got the better of the rebels, and took and demolished their castles.

To humble the king of England, and make a diversion for his forces, Louis induced William, that king's nephew, to redemand Normandy which had belonged to Duke Robert his father, whom the king of England still kept in prison; but the war which Louis undertook on that occasion had not a success favourable for William, who remained a private subject till 1128, that King Louis got him acknowledged earl of Flanders.

The king's design in that was to set up a powerful adversary against the king of England. This prince endeavoured to support himself by the Count d'Anjou, to make a diversion, and concluded with him the marriage of his daughter Matilda to Godfrey, surnamed Plantagenet, the Count's son. The princess Matilda was widow of the Emperor Henry, who died in 1124.

It was the same emperor who that very year had invaded France with a formidable army, at the instigation of the king of England. Louis raised an army of 200,000 men, only out of the provinces of Champagne, Picardy, Burgundy, the territories of Orleans, Etampes, Nevers, and the isle of France; which so terrified his enemies, that they durst not even attack his kingdom, which before they expected to destroy.

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This prince acted always with vigour in peace and in war. He signalized his valour in all the battles in which he was present, and he even received honourable wounds in them. Wearied with so many wars, and so much business, he thought it now time to devolve upon Philip a part of his cares, and he caused him to be crowned at Rheims in 1129; but as the prince was passing through one of the suburbs of Paris, a hog which had entangled itself between his horse's legs, made him fall, and Philip was crushed to death with his fall; so true is it that death spares neither rank nor age. The king did not long survive Philip; he died in 1137, after he had caused his second son Louis to be crowned, who was afterward called Louis the Young, and getting him married to Alienor, daughter and heiress of William duke of Guienne.

At this time Philip the king's son, archdeacon of Paris, gave a memorable example of modesty, when, on being elected bishop of Paris, he yielded his bishopric to Peter Lombard, who was called master of the sentences or maxims, as to a man of more abilities than himself for that high dignity.

Louis VII. surnamed LE JEUNE,  
The Young.

Among many things which have made the reign of Louis the Young remarkable, may be reckoned the multiplication of the communities, societies, or clubs of burgesses in very many towns of the different provinces of the kingdom. There had already appeared some examples of these establishments in the two preceding reigns. Louis was sensible how much assistance he might procure from them to humble the excessive power of the lords who abused their vassals. The latter, to protect themselves from oppression, contrived to form corporations subject to their own peculiar statutes; they thereby, in some measure, withdrew from the dominion of their natural lords, and indeed they pretended to owe direct submission only to the king, to whom they granted troops to serve him in his wars. This was the reason that Louis and his successors so easily gave their consent to the establishment of the corporations or communities, which their vassals themselves erected in the lands holding of them.

Louis, by his marriage with Alienor, was become master of Guienne and Poitou; and was, by that means, enabled to render his authority

authority more respectable, which he did on several occasions.

The archiepiscopal see of Bourges becoming vacant, Pope Innocent II. without regard to the person whom the clergy had elected, gave that prelature to Peter de la Châtre. Louis would hinder him from performing his functions, and was excommunicated by the pope; but as he thought that Thibauld count de Champagne had instigated the pope against him, he entered the count's country, where he ravaged every thing, not sparing even the churches, and among the rest he burnt one in which 1300 men had taken refuge. He was extremely penitent for this piece of inhumanity; and all that the celebrated St Bernard could do, could never remove his fears that God would never forgive him.

To expiate his crime, he resolved to take the cross, and go to the assistance of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was in the hands of a young child, called Baldwin, under the tuition of his mother. The emperor Conrad took at the same time a similar resolution, and marched out of his own territories with 60,000 men. The king's expedition was deferred, because Eugene III. banished by the Romans, had taken refuge in France. The king received him, according to the custom of his ancestors, with all manner

manner of respect. Afterward, when he was ready to set out, he went to St Denys to receive in ceremony the royal standard, called the *Oriflamme*, which the kings were accustomed to use in their wars. He left his kingdom in the hands of Ralph count de Vermandois, and of Suger abbot of St Denys. He found at Nice the emperor Conrade, of whose army Emmanuel, emperor of the East, had destroyed 50,000 men.

Whilst Louis was making haste to arrive at Jerusalem, Raimond prince of Antioch, his wife's uncle, begged him to stop in that country to assist him in the enlargement of his dominions; which the king having refused, because he would not defer his principal design, Raimond persuaded Alienor, who had accompanied her husband into Asia, to leave him, on pretext that he was her relation. Louis, however, forced his wife to follow him into Palestine. He marched to Jerusalem; then he besieged Damascus, which the treachery of the Christians of the country hindered him from taking. Disappointed in that expectation, he thought of nothing but returning. As he was coming back by sea, he met the fleet of the Greeks who were at war with Roger king of Sicily, and was made prisoner: but Roger coming

ming up, beat the Greek army, and set Louis at liberty.

On his return to France, he parted with his wife, either from scrupulousness, or jealousy, or for some other reason : he assembled on this account a council at Baugency. She married Henry, duke of Normandy, count d' Anjou, and heir of the king of England : she brought him in portion the duchy of Aquitaine, and the county of Poitiers. It was great occasion of grief to Louis, to see the power and domains of England so much increased in France ; thence likewise arose the bloody wars which lasted 200 years and by which the monarchy was almost utterly destroyed. Nevertheless, Louis married his daughter to the king of England's eldest son ; and, as if these kings had not been sufficiently formidable in France, he gave in portion to the princess the town of Gisors, which was very considerable at that time.

There were in this reign many wars between France and England, but no considerable advantage gained on either side. Louis protected against Henry II. king of England, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, his chancellor, a man of great sanctity and courage, whom that king had banished out of his dominions, because he refused to consent to laws destructive of

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the liberties of the church. Louis entertained him honourably in France, and made his peace with the king of England; but the former differences being soon renewed, some ruffians, thinking to do a pleasure to Henry, who had shewn an inclination to be rid of that prelate, killed him in his church, in the middle of his clergy, while he was at divine service.

This is not the proper place to relate how Henry was excommunicated for this sacrilegious murder, nor the public satisfaction that he gave before the tomb of that holy archbishop; but it must not be omitted, that after this act of piety and penance, the king's children who had rebelled against their father, with the privity of queen Alienor their mother, and under the protection of Louis, were soon reduced to their obedience, partly by their own goodwill, and partly by force. Thomas was numbered among the martyrs, and was greatly worshipped by the English: King Louis went to England to honour his relics.

This prince was very pious, and the protection that he gave to the popes is a strong proof of it. He received with the most cordial respect and kindness Eugene III. whom we have already mentioned, and afterward Alexander III. who was banished from Rome by the faction of the emperor

emperor Frederic II. and of the antipope Victor. Louis died at Paris the 18th of September 1180; he was buried in the church of the abbey of Barbeau, which he had founded.

### PHILIP II.

PHILIP, called Augustus, the Conqueror, or the Gift of God, *Dieu donné*, about fifteen years of age, and crowned at Rheims in 1179, in the lifetime of his father, was under the tuition of the earl of Flanders, and began his reign by acts of piety and justice: he enacted penalties against blasphemers, which has been followed by his successors at their accession to the crown. He banished the comedians, who corrupted manners by indecent representations; and what was before given to the comedians, began to be distributed to the poor.

About this time there was a holy league made, which was called the truce or peace of God, in which the lords swore, that such as should make war against each other, or should fight a duel, should be very rigorously punished. For that purpose commissaries were established in the provinces for the determination of all disputes and quarrels; and such as would not

submit, were pursued into the very churches, which were an asylum to others. Something like this was done in the reign of Louis XIV. who not only imitates, but even surpasses the excellent actions of his predecessors.

Philip began his wars after the example of the kings his ancestors, by protecting the ecclesiastics and other subjects against the lords who oppressed them; but, besides that, he was engaged in two great wars, of which it is proper to give a particular account; one in the Holy Land, and the other against England. He received a solemn embassy sent him from Jerusalem with the keys of the city, and to demand his protection. He resolved to march in person to its defence with a numerous army; but a variety of affairs having hindered the execution of that design, the city was taken by Saladin, king of Syria and Egypt. Thus was lost the kingdom of Jerusalem, after having lasted eighty-eight years. The king was much afflicted with that loss, and in an interview which he had with the king of Castile, they both resolved to join together, and save the remains of that distressed kingdom, and reconquer Jerusalem.

Philip made peace likewise with Richard I. of England to engage him in that war.

war. These two kings arrived in Sicily ; where the dissensions which happened between them, occasioned Philip to depart from many of his rights, that he might not retard their pious enterprise. Richard, however, had no thoughts of setting out ; and Philip having set sail, arrived near Acre two months before him. Aca or Acre, called Acon by the inhabitants of Palestine, and by the Greeks Ptolemais, a town situated on the sea, between Phoenicia and the Holy Land, was besieged for almost two years by the Christians. Frederic, the son of the emperor Frederic Barberossa, Redbeard, was come to the camp with his fleet ; but the hopes that he gave the Christians was of short continuance, that young prince dying a short time after his arrival.

The Germans who came with him, finding themselves without a leader, returned. They were despairing to take the place, on account of the vigorous resistance of the besieged, when they saw Philip appear. The fine troops that he brought, and the new warlike machines which he had for battering the walls, restored the hopes of the besiegers. Immediately new works were begun, and carried forward to the walls ; forts were made in the camp to defend its entry ; towers were raised, and brought

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forward; batteries were mounted for placing the machines, which threw so great a quantity of stones, that neither on the walls nor in the streets were they in safety; at last, by means of the battering-rams, the walls were so violently shaken, that a great breach was made through which the town might be taken by assault; but Philip being informed that Richard was landing with his army, wanted to do him the pleasure to wait for him, in order to share with him the glory of the enterprise.

That prince, after his departure from Sicily, was thrown by a tempest into the island of Cyprus, where a Greek called Isaac commanded, who, instead of being useful to him or sending him provisions, did all he could to destroy him. Richard enraged, made himself master of the island, and carried off with him the Greek and his wife in golden fetters. As soon as he had disembarked his army, new dissensions arose between the two kings, because Richard made a bad return to Philip's civilities, and even refused to share the booty with him, as they had agreed. That delayed the taking of the city for a long time; but the inhabitants, who knew not what was doing in the camp, demanded a capitulation. The conditions were, that they

they should give up with their city the real cross, and all the Christian prisoners.

Whilst they were capitulating, the Germans, who had come with the duke of Austria, entered at the breach, and planted their standard on the wall ; but the French and English hastening thither, took it down, not being willing that the Germans should have the glory of carrying the city. The besieged immediately laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. The prisoners and booty were divided between the two kings. Philip distributed his own share of the booty with royal magnificence. Richard put to death without exception that part of the inhabitants that fell to his share, and did so because he had not been able to find the true cross.

After taking the city, Philip resolved to return home ; and though his pretext was his own sickness and that of his army, he was blamed by every body for abandoning the enterprise without profiting by the glorious conquest he had just made. Richard opposed his departure as much as possible, for fear that Philip should take advantage of his absence to conquer the territories that he had in France ; but he removed his fears, by promising to undertake nothing against him till forty days after Richard should be returned into his own

kingdom. He left that prince ten thousand foot, and six hundred knights, under the command of Hugh duke of Burgundy.

Philip passed through Italy ; and, after paying his obeisance to the pope, set out for France. Mean-time Richard, having exchanged the kingdom of Cyprus for that of Jerusalem, which Guy de Lusignan yielded to him, pushed his conquests so far, that he reduced almost all Palestine under his subjection.

His name was universally terrible ; and it is observed, that mothers, who wanted to fright their children, threatened them with King Richard. But, amidst all those successes, his continual fear that Philip would break his word to him, and take possession of his territories, obliged him to leave all. As he returned through Austria, the duke, whom he had offended at the siege of Acra, caused him to be arrested, and put him into the hands of the emperor Henry VI. Such was the success of this crusade.

In order to understand the sequel of the wars which Philip declared against England, we must recapitulate affairs farther back. Philip, before the crusade, had been at war with Henry and Richard, kings of England, over whom he had obtained considerable

siderable advantages; but, by the treaties of peace that were made, he restored most of the towns he had taken, and especially he yielded much in the last treaty, because he was earnest to see the war in the Holy Land begun.

Richard being arrested in Germany, as has been said, Philip contributed as much as he could to the continuance of his confinement, and entered, in the mean time, into his territories with an army, as if, by that prince's detention, he had been released from the promise he had made when they parted at Acre. Richard had a brother called John *sans terre*, landless, because his father had given him no portion. Philip instigated him to make war against Richard, and to take possession of England. While John was endeavouring to make himself master of that kingdom, Philip entered Normandy, took Evreux, which he gave to John, and besieged Rouen, which he could not take. Mean-while Richard got out of prison, very much enraged against Philip, and resolved to take his revenge the first opportunity; but, as his finances were exhausted by the ransom he had been obliged to pay, he saw it impossible for him to support the expenses of the war. So they soon made a peace, by which was restored what had been taken, except

except Vexin, which remained with Philip.

There arose again a bloody war between these two kings, but without any considerable advantage to either party. They made a six years truce by the pope's mediation; during which Richard attacked a castle in the Limosin, called *Chalus*, where there were treasures which the lord of the place had found and locked up there. In viewing the place, he was killed by a shot of a crois-bow, which was an instrument invented by himself. As he died without issue, the succession belonged to Arthur, son of Geofroi, (Jeffrey), his second brother, who was count de Bretagne; but John, having seized the money, bribed the soldiers, and made himself master of the kingdom of England.

Mean-time Arthur took possession of the provinces of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, for which he did homage to Philip. John having hastened with a numerous army, soon regained those provinces. Philip protected Arthur; and the war was about to break out again with great violence, when it was happily terminated by an interview of the kings, on the confines of their dominions. By the agreement then made, Blanche, daughter of Alphonso king of Castile, and of Alienor, John's sister,

sister, was given in marriage to Louis, Philip's son.

The wars hitherto mentioned were as yet but of small importance: some more considerable are now to be related, which will have the appearance to be decisive of the fortune of the two kingdoms. This, in a few words, was their origin. John king of England, having divorced his wife, carried off Isabeau, daughter of Aimar count d'Angoulême, who had been promised to Hugh count de la Marche. The two counts made war against him, and he immediately seized the lands which they had holding of him. They complained to Philip as to their sovereign lord \*. Philip caused the king of England to be cited to the court of peers, and, as he did not appear, he was outlawed, and Philip then entered with an army into his territories.

During the course of this war, John was informed that his mother had been besieged in a castle by his nephew Arthur, count of Anjou and Brittany, who was of Philip's party. He came to her assistance so quickly, that he surprised Arthur in his bed, and shut him up in a prison, out of which he never escaped. His uncle caused him

\* Perhaps the word *seouveraine*, in the original, ought to be *suzeraine*, and then it would be the lord paramount.

to be put to death, and his body to be thrown into the river. Immediately Constance, his mother, filled Philip's court with her complaints, and came to demand justice against him. Philip ordered John to be again cited to the court of peers, where he now no more appeared than on the first summons; so that he was condemned to death for contumacy, and his estates in France forfeited to the king.

In execution of this decree, Philip entered Higher Normandy, and took it almost entirely. The year following he took Rouen and all Lower Normandy. Thus the duchy of Normandy, which had had twelve dukes, from Rollo downwards, and had continued about 300 years under its own princes, was reunited to the crown of France. At the same time, one called William des Roches, who had left John's party to join Philip, took Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Henry Clement, marshal of France, made himself master of Poitou, except Thouars and Rochelle; and the king himself took Loches, with other places of Touraine. The two or three following years produced nothing remarkable. There was afterwards a truce made, for two years, by the mediation of Pope Innocent III. who threatened to excommunicate

cate the person who should refuse to submit to it.

In the mean time, a more considerable war broke out in Germany. The emperor Otho IV. duke of Saxony, who had been long supported by the pope, having at last a difference with him, joined the king of England, and expected to come and ravage France, after having subdued Italy. The pope having excommunicated him, and deprived him of the empire, Philip, in concert with him, got another emperor elected, which was Frederic II. then seventeen years of age. Afterward he sent his son Louis to meet Frederic, and the two princes visited one another in the village of Vaucouleurs, on the frontiers of Champagne. Mean-while John was perplexed in his own kingdom, because the pope, enraged at his taking Otho's party, had excommunicated him; and because his subjects, whom he had much oppressed to support the war, had rebelled against him. But what straitened him most was Philip's having equipped a strong fleet, which was at the mouth of the Seine, waiting a wind to pass over into England.

In these circumstances, John promised to satisfy the pope, and offered to make his kingdom tributary to the holy see. The pope, being appeased, wanted, by his legate,

gate, to hinder Philip from continuing his enterprise; but he persisted in his resolution: however, before he passed the sea, he wanted to terminate every thing that might produce confusion in his own kingdom. For that purpose, he was under a necessity to reduce to reason Ferdinand earl of Flanders, son of the king of Portugal, who would not follow Philip into England till he had restored to him Aire and St Omer, which, he said, belonged to him, though he had before yielded them by treaty to Louis, Philip's eldest son.

The king had already taken some towns from that earl, and was besieging Ghent, when intelligence was brought him that the king of England's fleet had surprised his. He set out in all haste to their assistance, and met in his march a party of soldiers, who, having landed from on board the king of England's fleet, were ravaging the coast. He attacked and defeated them; but, seeing he would have difficulty to save his fleet, he set fire to it after landing all the crews. He then returned to Flanders, where he took several fortified places which he dismantled, and, among the rest, Lisle.

During that time, John being reconciled to the lords of Poitou, entered that province by collusion, and advanced even  
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to Anjou with a strong army. Philip sent Prince Louis to oppose him: this prince pushed the king of England so vigorously, that, being seized with a panic, he left behind him all his warlike machines, and a part of his troops. Philip had remained in Flanders to make head against Otho, who was marching against him with an army of 150,000 men, accompanied by Ferdinand earl of Flanders, and Reynold count of Boulogne. The two armies met at Bovines, a village between Lisle and Tournai.

The king, for some time, had been endeavouring to bring Otho to a battle; but he, keeping always in places of difficult access, never put himself in a state to be attacked. So Philip thought no longer of a battle, and only contrived to make himself master of Tournai, which, in fact, he took as by the by, without resistance. Then the emperor making a feint to march toward Lisle, ordered his troops to ford a river which runs in the middle of the plain. Philip, thinking he intended to intercept his road to Lisle, ordered his men to pass the bridge to prevent him. Otho, who had made that sham march to separate Philip's army, seeing that a great part of the French troops were on this side, and the rest on the other side of the river,

wanted to take his advantage, and made the signal for his men to advance speedily to battle.

Mean-time Philip was sleeping quietly at the foot of a tree, where he had laid himself, for coolness, about mid-day. He was immediately awaked; and, when he was informed of the situation of things, he rose, and went into a chapel dedicated to St Peter; where, having performed his devotions, he returned full of confidence: *Courage, says he, the victory is ours: let those who have passed the river repass it quickly, and attack the enemy in the rear, while we attack them in front.* Otho, who saw himself surrounded and taken in his own snare, retired to an eminence that was near; whither Philip, having followed him, made such evolutions with his army, that he threw the sun into his enemy's eyes.

There began the battle: on the one side were seen an innumerable multitude of soldiers, and on the other, fewer troops indeed, but the flower of the French nobility, commanded by their king, and by a king as expert as valiant. Otho had given the right wing to Ferdinand earl of Flanders; Reynold count of Boulogne led the left, and the emperor in person commanded the centre. Philip's right wing was commanded by Eudes duke of Burgundy; the

the left by Walter count de St Paul ; and Philip, with the centre, marched against Otho. The orders, in Otho's army, were to single out Philip from every other person, and bend all their efforts against him ; because, by his single fall, the whole army would be defeated ; so all the enemies attempts were turned against him. They broke through his squadron, which was remarkable by the royal banner, bespangled with flowers-de-lys. His guards were routed, and, at last, himself was unhorsed. Whilst one of his officers sustained the shock of the battle, another, called Tristan, mounted him again on his horse.

The French, in their turn, fought against Otho, and surrounded him on every side ; and, but for his cuirass, he had been run through the body. At last his horse, though wounded, disintangled him, and carried him off so far, that he was no more seen during the rest of the battle. The Germans fled, and were hotly pursued by the French : this rout was extremely bloody, and nothing was to be seen on all sides but heaps of dead. Ferdinand, however, performed the duty of a soldier, and of a general. Where-ever he saw his men pushed, thither he ran to their assistance ; he several times rallied the runaways, and even, when his horse was killed under him, he

fought long afoot, with all possible bravery ; but, overpowered with multitudes, he was forced to surrender. It would have been easy for Reynold to have saved himself by flight, but he chose rather to be taken than to be so dishonoured. So the principal officers were taken, and Philip obtained a complete victory. This is that famous battle of Bovines, which was fought in the greatest heat of summer, the 27th of July 1214, from noon till night.

The king entered afterward triumphant into Paris, dragging after him the Earl of Flanders, bound, and causing to be carried before him the standards, and especially that of Otho, on which was an eagle holding a dragon in his talons. This battle secured the affairs of France ; Otho so far reckoned on the victory, that he had already divided that kingdom between himself and his allies. But God disposed of it otherwise ; and, in gratitude for so great a blessing, Louis, the son of Philip, caused to be built, near to Senlis, a monastery, which was called *Notre dame de la victoire*, Our Lady of the victory, to be an eternal monument of the victory at Bovines.

Philip, after the victory, entered Poitou, where he was received with an universal submission ; and he had even taken John there, had he not been obliged, by the pope's

pope's legate, to consent to a truce. Some time after, new troubles happened in England; the whole kingdom rose up against the king. That prince had rendered himself odious, not only to the ecclesiastics and the nobility, but even to all the rest of the people, by the bad usage with which he treated them. To add to his misfortunes, he was excommunicated, and deprived of his kingdom by the pope, because he had forcibly dispossessed the archbishop of Canterbury. At that time the English lords offered their crown to Louis, Philip's son, who immediately went to London, where he was crowned.

John, overwhelmed with so many misfortunes, was obliged to submit to the pope, and, in effect, to render his kingdom tributary to the holy see, as he had done before. The pope, thus appeased, took off the excommunication pronounced against John, and excommunicated Louis. Meantime John died; and the English, who had not the same hatred against the children as they had against the father, acknowledged Henry, his eldest son, for their king, and abandoned Louis's party. This prince passed over again to France, to take advice and ask succours from the king his father, who, out of respect for

the pope, would not see him, because he was excommunicated.

Having returned to England, he lost a great battle near Lincoln; and was afterward besieged at London, whence he could not get out but on condition that he would procure restitution to the English, by the king his father, of what he had taken in France, or that he would restore it himself on his accession to the crown: but Philip, disregarding his son's promises, refused to restore those conquered countries, which had been adjudged to him by the court of peers; and the English, wearied out with so many wars, did not go about to redemand them by force of arms. So, the truce being continued, the two kingdoms remained quiet all the rest of Philip's reign.

During these differences between France and England, war was kindled in the country of Toulouse, on account of the heresy of the Albigeois, or Albigenses, whom Raimond count de Toulouse protected. The pope excommunicated him, and, having absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity, he caused a crusade to be preached up against him. A great many French lords took the crofs, and Simon count de Montfort commanded them. He took at first many considerable towns, and, having made

made himself master of the Albigeois, he laid siege to Touloufe.

Raimond, assisted by his allies, came and succoured that city with 50,000 men. The length of the siege, and scarcity of provisions, occasioned almost all Montfort's army to disband, and obliged himself to retire into a castle with 300 men. He defended himself there so vigorously, that he could not be forced, and obliged Raimond to raise the siege. Afterward, having rallied his forces, he made himself master of Toulouse, where he was soon besieged by Raimond, to whom Peter king of Arragon had brought 100,000 men.

Simon did not lose courage, though there were but 1200 men in the place. While Peter was at dinner, word was brought him, that Simon was making a sally. He did not vouchsafe to rise from table, despising an enemy whom he thought so weak; but Simon having exhorted his men to fight stoutly against those heretics, excommunicated by the holy see, entered the camp unexpectedly, where the panic struck so strong, that the soldiers over-ran one another, and betook themselves to flight. Peter came too late to the assistance of his men, and being thrown down on the ground, he was killed by a common soldier. Thus

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that great army was dissipated with but the loss of eight men to Simon.

The bishops having afterward met in a council, gave him first the protection, and then the sovereignty of the county of Toulouse, in which he was invested by Philip, to whom he did homage for it in 1219; but Simon having ordered the inhabitants to pull down their walls, and having raised heavy taxes on his subjects, the country revolted, and Raimond re-entered Toulouse, where Simon besieged him; but he was killed at that siege by a stone thrown from the top of the walls.

Amaulri his son succeeded him, and not finding himself in a condition to maintain his father's conquests, he wanted to deliver them up to the king; who refused them, wisely foreseeing that they would engage him in a war, of which he should not see the end, and of which Louis his son could not support the weight, by reason of the delicacy of his constitution. This was the cause that, in an assembly held at Melun, in 1219, Count d'Amaulri's proposal was rejected. Four years after, one being convoked at Mante, at which he was present, he died there in 1223, after a reign of forty-two years.

He was a religious prince, but not to that pitch as to be desirous of becoming a monk,

monk, as some authors have said; great in peace and in war; a severe avenger of crimes; just and beneficent, and always ready to hearken to the complaints of his subjects, which occasioned Paris to begin in his time to become unusually populous, and that he was obliged to enlarge that city, as he had been careful to beautify it. Whereas his predecessors made war only by raising their vassals, and some militia, who were dismissed at the end of the campaign, he was the first that had a regular and standing army. That was the reason he raised extraordinary taxes on his people, and even upon the ecclesiastics. But they had at least the consolation to know, that the finances were properly employed, and managed with prudent economy. In his time the constable and marshals of France begun to have the chief command in the armies.

The first office of the kingdom was that of feneschal or steward, whose power was so great that Philip had thoughts of suppressing it after the death of Thibault count de Blois, who died at the siege of Acre in 1191. Thus he strengthened the royal authority; but at the same time he made it serve as a protection to the weak against the great. Thus much for the history of Philip Augustus.

Though that prince had no share in the translation

translation of the empire of Constantinople into the hands of the French, we must not forget an action of such importance which happened in his time, and which was executed by his subjects. There was an honest priest called Foulque, curate of Neuilly on the Marne, a man remarkable for his piety, to whom Pope Innocent III. directed his orders to preach up the crusade: he did it with so much zeal and success, that he persuaded several French lords to take on the cross, among others Baldwin earl of Flanders, and Louis count de Blois.

All those lords being assembled, sent ambassadors to the Venetians for succours, and to secure ships at a certain rate. The chief person of that embassy was Jeffrey of Villehardouin, a man of great prudence and courage, very eloquent for that age, and who has even written that history very elegantly.

The French having obtained what they wished, came to Venice, where the good Duke Henry Dandole, though very old and blind, promised to take the cross with them. As the French were not able to give at the day appointed the money which they had promised, the Venetians prolonged the term of payment, on condition that they should assist them to retake Zara, a fortification which the king of Hungary had taken from them.

them in Dalmatia. They promised this willingly, and gave the Venetians the satisfaction they had expected.

At their return they were informed of a strange event which had put the empire of Constantinople in confusion. Alexis, brother of the Emperor Isaac, intending to usurp the empire, put out that old man's eyes, and caused Alexis, that prince's son, to be shut up in prison; from whence having escaped, he came and took refuge with Philip his brother-in-law, king of Germany. Philip sent ambassadors to the lords who had taken the cross, to induce them to take the part of Isaac and his son Alexis. They consented to it, on condition, that when those princes were replaced on the throne, they should subject the Greek church to that of Rome, and assist them in the conquest of the Holy Land.

Upon concluding this treaty, they set out from the port of Venice, under the command of Boniface marquis de Montferrat, whom they had chosen general of the whole army. The Venetians were led by their duke Henry Dandole, whom neither the loss of his sight, nor his great age, were able to hinder from going in person. They arrived all together, after a happy voyage, at Constantinople, whose extraordinary size they admired, as well as its advantageous situation.

situation. It commands two seas; and to behold its position between Asia and Europe, it seems to be made for keeping both in subjection.

As soon as they had come near, the emperor Alexis sent them an embassy, to tell them, the Emperor was very much surprised that they should propose to enter his territories without his order. He caused them to be asked why they made war against Christians, since they had taken the cross only against the infidels; and he added, that if they intended to continue their expedition into Syria, he promised them succours; but if they had any other design, his power and the force of his arms were to be dreaded.

Conon de Bethune, in name of all the lords, answered the ambassadors, that the army did not acknowledge as emperor, the person who had sent them; that their real emperor was in the army; that they ought of themselves to acknowledge him; but if they would not, a resolution was taken to force them to do so. The confederates after this answer prepared themselves for action, and to effectuate their descent. Immediately Alexis sent some cavalry to hinder them from coming ashore; meantime the descent was always going on, and with such impetuosity, that the Greeks were

were terrified and fled at the first. The French immediately attacked the tower of Galata, which they carried; and having by that means made themselves masters of the port, they began to batter the walls with their rams; but as they advanced slowly, they resolved on the scalade. That was executed as had been agreed in the council of war, where it had been determined that the Venetians should make their attack by sea, while the French should make theirs by the side of the plain.

The first supporting their ladders on their ships, got up on the walls, and took twenty-five towers, where having made lodgements, they threw themselves into the town. Alexis was terrified, and instead of contriving to repulse his enemies with the innumerable multitude of people and soldiers which he had, escaped by night, and abandoned the city. Isaac, in raptures on recovering at once his liberty, the empire, and his son, by so unexpected a succour, confirmed the treaty which had been made with the French.

Young Alexis being associated in the empire by his father, and seeing that his affairs were not yet restored, begged them to defer their expedition till the year following. At last, when he had quite re-

conquered the empire, and that he thought he might be without their assistance, his whole employment was to seek pretexts to get rid of them. The French, dissatisfied with his behaviour, sent to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and caused war to be declared against him in his very palace of Blaquernes, which was the usual residence of the emperors.

Mean-time such of the Greeks as were discontented with young Alexis, seeing that he had broke with the French, and that he had lost so great a succour, thought of revolting against him. Alexis Murtzufle, a relation of the prince, and his chief favourite, put himself at their head. This traitor having deceived the sentinels and guards in the night-time, surprised Alexis in his bed, and seized his person. When Isaac heard that unlucky piece of news, he fell sick, and died of grief. Murtzufle clothed himself in the royal purple, and got himself proclaimed emperor. At the same time he caused young Alexis to be poisoned ; but as the poison did not operate, he ordered him to be strangled.

The French, full of indignation at so black a piece of treachery, undertook the siege of Constantinople with so much ardour that they carried it by assault. They thought that

that Murtzufle would intrench himself in some part of the city; but they were informed that he had escaped in the night-time. So being masters of Constantinople, and of the whole country, they resolved to create an emperor, and elected Baldwin earl of Flanders. He did not live long after; for having besieged Adrianople, which the Bulgarians had taken, he was attacked in his camp: he at first vigorously repulsed the enemy; but as he pursued them too hotly, he involved himself in strait places, where the runaways rallying came pouring upon him from all sides. There, seeing the count de Blois mortally wounded, and unwilling to leave him, he was himself taken; that imprisonment became fatal him, and he was liberated from it only by his death.

It is needless to mention the emperors who succeeded him, while the empire of Constantinople remained in the possession of the French. But we must not forget the death of the perfidious Murtzufle, who, after flying from Constantinople, pushed on all sides by the French, was forced to take refuge at Messinople, a city of Thrace, where old Alexis had retired a long time before. On his arrival near that city, he caused the emperor Alexis to be told, that he would give him his troops, and would

be for ever obedient to him, if he would receive him into his favour. Alexis made a shew of trusting his promises; but having enticed him into the city, which he entered on that prince's parole, he ordered his eyes to be put out.

Murtzufle found means some time after to escape out of the hands of Alexis; but the divine justice always pursuing him, he fell into the hands of the French, who having brought him to Constantinople, condemned him to die, and threw him from the top of a column, on which, it is even said, was seen engraved a man dressed like an emperor, on whom a like death was inflicted. But it is time to resume the thread of our history.

### Louis VIII.

HENRY king of England would not be present at the coronation of Louis VIII. which was performed at Rheims the 6th of August 1223, (he was however obliged to attend that ceremony in quality of duke of Guienne); on the contrary, he sent Louis a summons to restore him Normandy. The king, instead of restoring to him provinces justly forfeited by a judgment of the peers, ordered him to give up the other countries which he had in France; but

but affairs of that nature are not finished by words, and there was a necessity to have recourse to arms.

Louis entered into Poitou, where at first he defeated the English army, and took possession of several places. La Rochelle was long defended; but at last it surrendered, after having vainly expected the assistance of England. Guienne intimidated was ready to follow that example, and the English had difficulty to preserve it. They could not hinder the viscount de Thouars, who was the greatest lord in Poitou, from submitting to the king. This valiant and warlike prince, who was called the *Lion*, on account of his great courage, extended his conquests as far as the Garonne. He had already taken possession of the county of Toulouse, which had been yielded to him by Amaulri, and every day enlarged the kingdom by new conquests.

There happened much about that time great confusions in Flanders. An imposter, who resembled Baldwin emperor of Constantinople, said that he was the real Baldwin, and that he had escaped out of the prison in Bulgaria. He had already gained many of the subjects of the countess Jane, Baldwin's daughter. Louis, on hearing so surprising a piece of news,

brought him to an interview on a promise of safe conduct, and seeing that he pertinaciously maintained that he was Baldwin, put these questions to him. *When, said he, did the king my father, of happy memory, give you the investiture of Flanders? In what chamber did he make you a knight? Before whom? Of what colour was the shoulder-belt, or baudrier which he gave you? What jewels were on it? For the real Baldwin must know these things.* The impostor, who was prepared only for more general things, contradicted himself, and was obliged to own his fraud. The king dismissed him, because he had given him his word; but he fell into the hands of Jane, who ordered him to be hanged.

Louis having secured his conquests against the English, turned in the county of Toulouse his victorious arms against the Albigensis, the inhabitants of Albi and Chatre. As he wanted to pass into Provence, Avignon shut her gates against him. He resolved to take that place, though the pestilence had broke out in his camp. Avignon surrendered the 12th of September 1226.

Louis died in his return from the siege. He was a prince meriting the highest praise for his piety and valour. Moreover, though he had not been famous for his

his great actions, he would have an everlasting name among mankind for being the father of St Louis. His death happened the 8th of November 1226, at the castle of Montpensier in Auvergne, from whence his body was transported to St Denys, where he was buried near his father. His reign lasted only three years and four months.

## BOOK V.

## St LOUIS IX.

Louis VIII. having clearly foreseen that great troubles would happen under the reign of his eldest son, whom he left at twelve years and a half old, had caused the bishops and lords swear, that immediately after his death they would get his son crowned. They kept their promise, and after acknowledging the young prince Louis for their king, they put him under the tuition of Queen Blanche, his mother, because several lords testified, that the king, when dying, had declared her regent. Scarce had the king been crowned at Rheims, the 29th of November 1226, when the queen was informed of the conspiracy concerted by several lords in Brittany

tany against the state. She did not give them leisure to gather strength, but having surprised them unprovided, she frustrated their enterprise. Afterward, in order to regulate the affairs of the kingdom, she held a parliament at Chinon ; at her departure from which, she was informed that the lords were waiting for the king at Corbeil, to seize his person.

It was Thibauld, count de Champagne, who gave her that information. If we give credit to some authors, he was smitten with the queen's beauty in the lifetime of the deceased king, and far from concealing it, he took pleasure on the contrary to reveal his passion. He made even some love-verses on the queen which he was so foolish as to publish ; and they are still extant. The queen was angry at first, and afterward only laughed, and diverted herself with the count's folly. But when the disturbances happened, that princess, equally prudent and chaste, resolved to make use of that lord's passion for the king's interest.

Thibauld, partly from levity of mind, and partly because he was dissatisfied with the queen, had joined the party of the confederate princes ; but as she afterward exhorted him mildly to take better advice, he was so much moved with the civilities  
of

of that princess, that he discovered to her all the designs of the confederacy. Thus being so well informed, she stopped at Monthery, where the Parisians by her order came to receive the king, and brought him back in triumph to Paris.

The troubles began anew some time after. Henry III. of England raised the malecontents. The queen found means to appease them, especially the king of England, and the count de Bretagne : then seeing there remained no more of the party but only Raimond count de Toulouse, she easily got the better of him, by turning all the strength of the kingdom against him. He was forced to yield up almost all his fortified places, and to give in marriage his only daughter, an heirefs, to Alphonso the king's brother. That princess was immediately put into the hands of Blanche, to be educated under her inspection. The troubles were not thereby extinguished. The lords, instigated by Robert count de Dreux, soon renewed the war, on pretext that they could not suffer the state to be in the hands of a foreign woman, and a foreign cardinal.

This foreigner so much envied was Cardinal Romagno, *Romain*, an Italian, who was the queen's adviser. They began to excite commotions in towns, to make insurrections

surrections of the people by false reports, to spread malicious stories against the queen, and to levy men in all quarters. They even engaged in their party Philip count de Boulogne, brother of the deceased king, by flattering him with the hopes of making him king ; and they were agreed, that a part of the lords, after appearing first at Louis's standard, would all of a sudden go over to the princes, at the instant of engaging in battle. By this artifice Louis would inevitably have fallen into their hands, if Thibauld count de Champagne had not come to his assistance with 300 horse, who disengaged him.

The queen being advised that the confederate princes wanted to make Enguerrand de Couci king, informed Philip count de Boulogne of the design, and, by that means, took him off from their party. These lords, however, burning with a desire of vengeance against Thibauld, on pretence of the differences that he had with Alice queen of Cyprus, resolved among themselves, that the duke of Burgundy should attack Champagne on his side, while they entered it on the side of France. But Blanche did not give him up to their fury, nor forget the services that he had done to the state. She marched to his assistance along with

with the king, followed by the best troops of France.

As soon as the army appeared, the princes sent to beg the king not to expose his person; but he let them know, that the soldiers would not fight unless he were at their head. Surprised with this answer, they sent to beg him to accommodate matters. He answered, that he should enter into no treaty till they were out of Champagne. On this answer they retired in disorder, so that their decampment resembled a flight. The king having driven them far out of the province, terminated the difference between Thibauld and Alice to the satisfaction of both.

Though Louis was greatly obliged to the queen his mother for so well supporting his authority, he was still more bound to her for the care she took to have him educated in the fear of God. She got him instructed by the person of greatest piety in the kingdom. He heard every Sunday the word of God; but what made a greater impression on his mind was, that the queen continually repeated to him, that however tenderly she loved him, she had rather see him dead than see him commit a mortal sin.

This sentiment remained so deeply engraved on his heart, that he not only preserved

served it through the whole course of his life, but even inculcated it on others. He asked once the Sire de Joinville, one of the chief lords of his court, and who has written his history, which of the two he would chuse, to be a leper, or to be guilty of a mortal sin? He answered, he would rather have committed a thousand. The king reproved him severely for that saying, repeating to him several times, that there was no worse leprosy than sin, which defiled the soul, and made it odious to God to all eternity. This thought was always present with him through the whole course of his life. In this manner ought princes to be instructed, because nothing remains more deeply rooted in the hearts of mankind than what they have received from their infancy.

By those duties of piety, Blanche so secured to herself the protection of heaven, that she reduced all her enemies so far, as to force Peter, called Mauclerc, count de Bretagne, who had raised up all the rest, to come and ask pardon of the king.

Louis having taken upon himself the government of the state, married Margaret, eldest daughter of Raimond count de Provence, a woman of great chastity and courage, with whom he lived in perfect concord, and with much innocence and sanctity.

tity. Beatrix her younger sister married Charles count d'Anjou, the king's brother. On the death of Raimond without male issue, Charles got the county of Provence by the will of his father-in-law, who made his daughter Beatrix his heiress. Almost all the provinces wanted to have their particular lords, to see them, to pay court to them, and did not allow themselves to be united to a greater empire.

Louis enacted very pious laws, by which he settled the respect due to things sacred; regulated judgments, and reformed all abuses. A person might have access to him at any hour, to demand justice from him, even when he was taking an airing, and the places are still shown at Vincennes where he pronounced judgment sitting under a tree.

In the journeys of the court he sent always a prelate and a lord to examine into what was destroyed, and to repair it. He gave benefices with great circumspection to such as he found men of most knowledge and piety, that the people might be edified by their life and doctrine. How much more careful would he have been in the distribution of such favours, had he had the bishoprics and great dignities of the church to bestow? He favoured the clergy without suffering the authority of his officers to be

weakened. He carefully preserved the ancient customs of the kingdom; and though he was much attached and very submissive to the holy see, he did not suffer the court of Rome to encroach on the ancient rights of the prelates of the Gallican church.

His wisdom was admired, and he appeared in every thing the most prudent and most sensible man in his council, though he called to it the ablest persons in the kingdom. He determined immediately, with admirable distinctness and judgment, matters that required a speedy resolution. In every thing else he heard the opinion of wise persons, which he digested within himself for some days without speaking a word, and then he took his resolution with much maturity and prudence.

He was mild and beneficent, of easy access to every one. He entertained the great personages of the kingdom at his own table. He rather chose to gain mankind by meekness, and excite them by recompense, than to do every thing by dint of authority. He was merciful to his enemies, and did not always prosecute his right by force of arms; but preferred peaceable councils, and yielded his own, as much as his dignity and the public safety could permit.

Louis loved peace, and did not shun war when it was necessary; but he carried it on with

with courage, and showed himself vigorous both in his deliberations and in their execution. In fine, in his actions and words were seen justice, constancy, sincerity, mildness usually, and likewise severity when conjectures required it. France was happy in finding him at once a king and a father.

Whilst she was in that condition, Gregory IX. had excommunicated the Emperor Frederic II. and deprived him of the empire, and then sent ambassadors to Louis, demanding Robert count d'Artois his brother, in order to make him emperor. The great lords of the kingdom and the king's council answered, that they saw no reason for attacking the emperor, who was doing no harm to France; that the king inclined to make war against no Christian prince, unless he was forced to it; that besides, the kings of France, who possessed so great a kingdom by hereditary succession, were above emperors, who were raised to that rank only by the election of the princes; and that it was sufficient honour to the count d'Artois to be brother of so great a king.

Such was the moderation and wisdom of this prince's councils, and such the majesty of the French monarchy; for the kings of France, called *the great kings* by way of eminence,

nence, have at all times been regarded with the emperors as the two most illustrious princes among the kings of Europe. They had powerful vassals, who acknowledged them for their lords paramount, with regard to the lands which they possessed in France, and who, even when they were invested with royalty, did not disdain to bow the knee before them, when they did them homage. Such were, with regard to France, the kings of England, and the kings of Navarre.

The ungrateful emperor Frederic, notwithstanding his obligations to Louis, had laid snares for him, under pretext of a conference which he proposed to him; but Louis contented himself with avoiding them, without contriving vengeance against that prince, or joining his enemies. The same emperor wrote him, praying him to defend, along with himself, the majesty of kings, violated in his person by the pope, or to give sentence on the difficulty which he submitted to his judgment, or to accommodate the matter as an arbiter and common friend. Louis did not intend to confound with the rights of the empire the far more evident rights of the kingdom of France, nor to intermeddle in the quarrels of his neighbours, seeing besides that matters were pushed with too much bitterness to be decided.

decided amicably, by the rules of justice.

After a long peace, a great war broke out on the side of the English. The occasion of this war was the revolt of Hugh count de la Marche, whom his wife Isabella had induced to shake off the yoke. As she had been queen of England, and was mother of the then king of England, that haughty and proud princess could not be persuaded to yield to the countess de Poitiers, which however she found herself bound to do; for the king had given to Alphonso his brother the county of Poitiers, of which that of la Marche was held. Such a subjection was unsupportable to that proud woman. She brought over her husband to her sentiments; and he let the king of England his son-in-law understand, that if he entered into Poitou, immediately all the lords of the country would join him. This reason obliged him to throw a numerous army into France.

Louis neglected nothing to make a reasonable peace; but as the king of England, from his natural pride, rejected all kind of proposals; he on his side turned all his thoughts to war. The English army joined to that of the Count de la Marche was by one half stronger than that of France. Louis however failed not to attack the best fortified places of the county: he took

and caused them to be demolished. Isabella, terrified at his progress, endeavoured to get him poisoned. That execrable and wicked attempt was discovered; and the king having returned thanks to God for delivering him from so great a danger, carried on the war with greater confidence against mischievous and impious persons. The two armies having met near to the bridge of Taillebourg, so that there was nothing but the Charante between them, Louis made a part of his troops ford the river, and passed it himself by the bridge, after forcing those who defended it; then, by his extraordinary valour, he animated the courage of his men, and appearing at their head sword in hand, he routed the enemy, without giving them time to rally. And indeed the victory was attributed to his valour.

The day following a few of our foragers met some squadrons of the enemy: each party coming to the assistance of their men, the two kings hastened thither, and the engagement became general. The French, full of courage under the command of their king, and animated by the victory of the preceding day, pressed the English so hotly, that they could not resist so vigorous an attack. Henry forgot his former haughtiness, and betook himself to flight among the

the first. He shut up himself in Saintes, and, not even thinking he was safe within its walls, he fled away in the night-time.

The dread of Louis, and of his victorious arms, made him repass the Garonne, and abandon the county of La Marche, which was soon reduced to reason ; a part of his territories was forfeited, and he was restored to the other. Isabella obtained also her pardon. Thus Louis made war as vigorously as he had been desirous of making peace ; and Henry, who had appeared so haughty and proud, when he had engaged in the enterprise, was found, as usually happens, cowardly and lazy in action.

When the war was finished, Louis fell so dangerously ill, that the physicians despaired of him. The consternation was very great through all the court ; and, especially, the grief of the queen-mother, and of the queen-consort, cannot be expressed. He had so strong a fainting-fit, that he was thought dead for several hours. During that time, the queen-mother, having no further hopes in human remedies, applied to him the real cross of our Saviour, and the spear which had drawn out of his side blood and water. He immediately came to himself again ; but he had no sooner recovered his sences, than he resolved

ved upon a war in the Holy Land, and took the cross.

Blanche, terrified at that resolution, engaged the bishop of Paris to join her to divert him from it. Nevertheless, he persisted in his design; and, on their remonstrances that he was not yet entire master of himself, when he took the cross, after taking off that which he wore, he took the cross a second time, to show that he had done nothing from weakness, but from a formed design to support religion against the infidels.

Before setting out, he caused it to be proclaimed through all the kingdom, that, if he or his officers had done wrong to any one, he should come and complain of it, and he would cause it to be repaired. Unforeseen affairs hindered him to set out till the day after All-saints, November 2. He arrived happily in the island of Cyprus, where he remained till Ascension-day. His fleet appeared on the coast of Egypt on the day of Pentecost, Whitsunday, in the year

1249.

As he was ready to land, his fleet was tossed with a tempest, and several ships thrown here and there, could not prosecute their voyage. That accident did not hinder him from executing the resolution he had taken to put his army on shore; because

cause he was afraid that the delay might impair the courage of his men, and animate that of his enemies. 6000 Saracins advancing to oppose his descent, he caused his ship to be brought as near as possible : but, as there was still a good deal of water to pass, the king most courageously threw himself into the sea, up to the shoulders, sword in hand ; so desirous was he to get quickly to land.

As soon as he got thither, he wanted to throw himself, all alone, upon the enemy, and was not afraid of so great a multitude. Those who were near him obliged him to wait the rest of the army. When all the troops had joined, he charged the enemy so vigorously, that he immediately routed them. He then marched in all haste to Damietta, which he found abandoned by the Saracins. He there left the queen, who, till that time, would not part from him, and who showed wonderful courage through the whole course of this war. The sultan died about the same time, and his death put the Saracins in great confusion. The king held a council of war, in order to resolve whether he should lay siege to Alexandria or Grand Cairo, which our historians have called Babylon. He resolved to besiege this last city, because it was the capital of the whole empire, and because, if he

he got that, he might easily get all the rest.

In order to execute that design, it was necessary to pass over a very deep arm of the Nile, which our historians call Rexi. The difficulty of finding a ford made him resolve to raise a causey across the river, for the passage of the troops; and that the soldiers might labour and advance the work under cover, the king caused a great gallery to be made, for which that prince used the wood of the ships, because there were no trees thereabouts.

As fast as the work advanced, the water and the enemies destroyed it; besides that, the Sarrazins threw so many of those fireworks, called wild-fire, *feux grégeois*, that the wood of the gallery, which was very dry, took fire on all sides, and a vast number of men were burnt. For they had machines with which they threw some of those fires as big as a tun. So, the work not advancing, they were despairing of being able to pass the river, when a man of the country offered to show the king a pretty convenient ford, which was ordered immediately to be founded, and a resolution was taken to pass. The enemy were on the opposite bank of the river, resolved to dispute the passage with our army. It had to fight against the depth and rapidity of the waters,

waters, and the innumerable darts which the Saracins threw. Those who had passed had next to sustain an attack made on them, sword in hand, and they were so pushed, that they were ready to yield, when they saw the king advancing ; whose incredible vigour every where supported the fight. He was always seen sword in hand. He fell upon the thickest battalions of the enemy, and went to every quarter to succour those whom he saw straitened. The shock was so furious, that the count d'Artois, the king's brother, was killed. The king himself had like to have been taken, and already six infidels were carrying him off; but, with his sword and his mace, he so laid about him, that he got out of their hands, and performed so great feats, that all the army thought the victory of that day owing to his valour.

Nevertheless, as they extolled him for his courage, and said that this passage of the Nile equalled the most illustrious actions of the greatest generals, he imposed silence on all, and said, that God was to be glorified for that good success, since he alone gave victories. Thus passed the day of Massoura. The death of the count d'Artois cost the king many tears; but, in the extremity of his grief, he felt a consolation,

tion, because he had died in the support of religion.

The count's body was carried to the new sultan, who, seeing his princely dress, made his soldiers believe that the king had been killed, and they must speedily charge the army, which they might easily defeat, because it was without a general. The king, informed by his spies of the enemy's designs, kept on the defensive, and destined to every one the post he was to guard. The sultan began the attack on the post of Charles count d'Anjou, who was at first taken by the infidels, fighting valiantly on foot at the head of his men. The king hastily disengaged him. He could not in the same manner liberate Alphonso count de Poitiers, his second brother, who, being deserted by his men, fell into the hands of the infidels. Louis did not fail to repulse the attack of his enemies, who were forced to retire with great loss. As soon as he saw the enemy retiring in confusion, and was master of the field of battle, that he might not allow his men to be drawn into an ambuscade, he caused the retreat to be sounded, and ordered all the army to return thanks to God for the two victories that he had given him.

The Sarrasins, notwithstanding so many losses, were not discouraged. The sultan assembled

assembled as many troops as he could, both out of his own country and from his allies; and, despairing to get the better of the French by force, he resolved to cut off their provisions. For that purpose, he occupied the whole extent of the river, as far as Damietta; and, having made himself master of all the passes, he reduced our army to extreme necessity. To add to our misfortunes, there broke out in the camp a disease till then unknown among the French; it was the scurvy. This distemper rotted and dried up the legs to the very bone, and ulcerated the gums so, that the flesh fell off in shreds, or coats. It was occasioned by the intemperature of the air and bad food; and God made use of this method of chastising the debauchery and violence of the French, who abandoned themselves to all kind of excesses, in spite of the examples, the orders, and even the severity of the holy king.

That prince found himself obliged to rejoin the rest of the army, which he had left under the command of the duke of Burgundy, to guard the other side of the river. As they were repassing, the Sarrazins attacked the rear-guard, which was saved by the care and valour of Charles count d'Anjou. When the king had rejoined the troops, he resolved to return back

to Damietta ; but his army, already weakened by sickness and scarcity, was besides overwhelmed by the multitude of the Saracins. He himself being sick, and having about his person but one single equerry to defend him, was forced to surrender to them. 10,000 men were taken the same day.

Historians assure us the king might have escaped, had he not chosen to expose himself to any danger rather than abandon his people. God permitted him to be beat and taken, to show him that the greatest generals are not always victorious, and that we must repose our confidence on him alone, since he is the absolute master of all events. These misfortunes served also to improve and try the patience of St Louis, and to make him despise worldly things, the changes of which are so sudden. In fact, instead of complaining, or allowing himself to be overwhelmed with grief, in the greatest extremities, he had continually in his mouth the praises of God, and returned him thanks for the evils he had to endure for his service : nothing afflicted him but the miseries of his people.

The tediousness of his confinement did not abate his courage, nor change his sentiments. So great a king saw himself tied like a slave : he was threatened to have his feet locked up between two wooden boards, called

called by Joinville *bernickles*; sometimes to be put to death. Amidst these menaces, he showed always the same meekness and the same steadiness; so that his constancy was admired even by the infidels. When he was told that the ship on board of which the queen his mother was sending a great sum of money for his ransom, was sunk, he said, without being surprised, that whatever misfortune happened him, he should always continue submissive and faithful to God. At last, after many menaces, and many unreasonable proposals made to him, he offered of himself 800,000 besants \*, which made about 4,000,000 of the French livres now current, or about 174,604l. English, with the city of Damietta, for his own ransom and that of his men.

The sultan, moved with his generosity and frankness, accepted the terms, and even forgave him, according to some historians, 100,000 livres. On these conditions the truce was concluded for ten years, and the king was going to be liberated; but the sultan, with whom he had treated, was killed in his presence. The person who had done this deed, came to the king, with his bloody knife, telling him he had killed his enemy, who had de-

\* A piece of ancient gold coin, worth about a double ducat.

terminated on his death. The historians relate, that there were some infidels who were desirous of making him their emperor, so well was his reputation established among them. Mean-time they came and told him, that the new sultan had put it to the question in his council, whether he and all the French should not be put to death? But God, in whom he had placed his confidence, had turned their hearts, so that it was at last resolved to execute the treaty. Thus the king was liberated, after being prisoner about a year.

In the payment, the Sarrasins having mifreckoned themselves in a considerable sum, he sent them back what was wanting, as he thought faith was to be kept even to infidels. They did not behave with the same fidelity to him; for they neither restored all the artillery nor all the prisoners, as they had promised. The king being set at liberty, continued some time in the Holy Land, where he received an embassy from the Christians of that country, begging him not to forsake them in the extremity of their affliction. He put the matter to the question, and, at the first, almost every one cried aloud, with one voice, that it was necessary to return to France.

Joinville's opinion was to remain in Palestine. He said, it was becoming the king

King to support the forlorn Christians. Louis was some days without declaring his intentions: then he told that lord, that he should not repent the giving so good a counsel; after which he declared publicly that he should stay there, because France, being under the regency of the queen, his mother, would not want succours, whereas the Christians in the Holy Land had no expectations but from him.

There is extant a letter of St Louis, explaining what passed in the Holy Land, and the reasons for his continuing there. He says, among other things, that the Saracens had not kept the truce, and that he could not abandon above 12,000 prisoners, whom they had retained contrary to the treaty. He adds, that the good of Christendom required that he should take advantage of the war between the sultans of Aleppo and Babylon.

During the time of his abode, he amassed incredible riches: he rebuilt several considerable cities; fortified those of Tyre and Sidon; and repaired the walls of Acra, which were quite ruinous, by raising every where on them great towers. He was preparing to do greater things, when he got accounts of his mother's death, which gave him very great grief, and obliged him to return to France.

As he was off the isle of Cyprus; he was overtaken by so furious a blast of wind, that his ship was almost sunk, and was like to be dashed against a rock, had it not been struck on a sand-bank, from which it was with difficulty got off. In this condition, he called Joinville, and said to him, *See the power of God; a single one of his four winds, which he has let loose against us, had like to have destroyed the king, the queen of France, and almost all the royal family.* He added, that such accidents were so many advertisements given by God to sinners, that they may amend, and that, when they refuse to profit by them, he changes them into rigorous chastisements. In this manner he made advantage, both for himself and others, of all the accidents of life.

The sailors wanting to deter him from going on board that ship because it was much shattered, he asked them what they would do if they had merchandise to transport? *We should certainly transport it, answered they, but we durst not risk so precious a life.* Then he said, there were 600 men in the ship who valued their own lives as much as he did his, and that he should deprive them of every means of returning to France if he abandoned that ship. Thus thinking it unworthy of him to forsake so many of his faithful servants, he continued his

'his voyage in the same vessel, without being afraid, and arrived happily in France.

On his landing at Roanne, a monk of the order of St Francis preached an excellent sermon before him on justice, saying, that it was the support of states; that kingdoms, both Christian and Heathen, perished only for want of its being rightly administered; and that princes were bound to this duty more than other men, since God had intrusted to them mankind, who are so dear to him, to govern and preserve them in his name. The king was so affected with this sermon, that he wanted to retain about him the person who had given him so good instructions. But that pious monk, far from intending to follow the court, answered in a grave and serious manner, that retirement was his portion, and that he had even great fears about the salvation of the monks whom he saw about the pious king.

Though that prince was sufficiently inclinable of himself to do justice, this sermon excited him to it still more. As he saw that his subjects chose often to quit the kingdom, and abandon their effects, rather than be persecuted as they were by his officers, he eased them so successfully, that, even by diminishing the taxes, he got his revenue doubled. If he had any thing belonging to another, he was exact in restoring

ring it to the owner, and he was careful to make his servants do the same. Thibauld count de Champagne, and king of Navarre, son of that other Thibauld so often mentioned, and son-in-law to the king, gave large charities to the preaching friars. Louis told him seriously, that if he was indebted, or had any thing belonging to another, he must not think himself acquit by making those charitable donations ; and that alms given out of rapine were not acceptable to God.

He returned from the Holy Land so disgusted with pleasures, that he was never more moved with them. He was never known to complain of the victuals served up to him, however badly dressed. He practised great austeries, and usually wore a haircloth shirt ; but he was not for that reason more melancholy, nor more difficult of access ; and though he reaped great advantage from those mortifications, he did not place Christian perfection in these observances, well knowing that charity and justice comprehend the chief duties of religion.

He was always very plainly dressed, and quoted to those who blamed him for it, the example of the kings his father and grandfather. Though he was extremely plain in his usual dress, yet in parliaments or assemblies

blies of the grandes of the nation, and in ceremonies, he appeared with greater pomp and magnificence than the kings his predecessors. The establishment of his household was magnificent, and he was very liberal to his officers ; but he was chiefly so to the poor, and asked at those who upbraided him for his great charities, if it was not better to employ his money in the relief of the poor than in vanity. Besides the charities which he gave so liberally, he kept also every day behind his own table another table destined for the poor, which he often served in person, believing that in them he honoured Jesus Christ.

We may judge of his zeal for the worship of God by the excellent laws which he has enacted in favour of piety, by the rigorous punishments which he inflicted on impious persons and blasphemers, whose tongue he ordered to be bored through ; and, in fine, by the churches, hospitals, and communities of men and women consecrated to God, which he magnificently built and endowed. We must not forget the celebrated college of the Sorbonne, which Robert Sorbon his confessor built by the approbation and favour of the pious king.

As the lords of his kingdom often ruined each other by destructive wars, his ministers advised

advised him to let them alone, because afterward he might be the sooner master of them, either by agreeing them, or by subjecting them; but he answered, that Jesus Christ had said, *Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God;* that, moreover, if he maliciously kept up quarrels, he should at last raise up every one in rebellion against himself, and should not do the duty of a good king. In fact, by appeasing confusions, and reconciling parties, he procured the good-will of all the lords, and acquired to himself so much power, that not only the princes who were his subjects, but even his neighbours, among others the duke of Lorraine, submitted their differences to his judgment.

This love for peace induced him to make an agreement with the king of England. The conditions of that peace were, that besides Aquitaine which Henry had already, Louis should restore him, among other provinces, of which his grandfather had forfeited the kings of England, the Perigord, Quercy, and the Limosin, reserving homage to be done for them to the crown of France, and that the king of England should, on his part, give up his claim to Normandy, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Thus the kingdom was in peace, and very great provinces hitherto not well subdued.

subdued to the obedience of France, and almost all well affected to the English, were for ever united to the crown by a solemn treaty.

Louis, after regulating the affairs of his kingdom, and leaving the regency of it to Matthew abbot of St Denys, and Simon count de Neelle, resolved to pass over into Africa with an army of 60,000 men. He thought himself more certain of becoming master of that coast, and afterward of Egypt, than by entering at first into Palestine; he was still further inclined to that enterprise, because Charles of Anjou his brother had been made king of Sicily, from whence he might easily have succours.

As soon as he had landed his army, he besieged, and immediately carried Carthage with its castle. He was five weeks before Tunis, but made no great advances. The dysentery broke out in his army, attended with a pestilentious fever, with which he was himself seized. He ordered to lay him on a bed covered with ashes like a sinner, in order to receive the sacraments. When just a-dying, he made the responses to all the versicles, and pronounced his prayers with such faith and fervency as moved all who were present. At last, having called his son Philip, and exhorted him, in an admirable manner, to fear God, and do justice,

justice, both in words and writing, he gave up his blessed soul to God with great tranquillity.

Thus died the most pious and most just prince that ever wore the crown, whose faith was so great, that one would have thought he rather saw the divine mysteries, than believed them. And indeed he was often heard commanding the saying of Simon count de Montfort, when invited by his servants to come and see Jesus Christ, who had appeared in the host in the figure of a child, *Go you there, says he, you who do not believe. As for me, I believe without seeing what God has said; this is the advantage that we have over the angels; if they believe what they see, we believe what we do not see.* He often told this saying, and had it deeply ingraved in his heart. Never did he begin an action nor a discourse, without having first invoked the name of God. He had learned that lesson from Queen Blanche his mother, and had carefully retained it.

He used also all his endeavours to instil into his children the same sentiments of piety. Every evening he called them to teach them to fear God, and related to them the punishments which the pride, avarice, and the debauchery of princes brought upon themselves and their people.

In

In one of his illnesses he caused to be brought to him his eldest son Louis, who afterward died before himself. He exhorted him to seek the love of his people, to administer justice honestly, to protect the unfortunate and oppressed ; and told him, that if he neglected his counsels, he should rather wish his kingdom to be governed by a stranger than by him.

There is nothing more remarkable than the precepts which he gave to Philip, his son and successor. He had long before considered and reduced them to writing ; but perceiving his last hour approaching, he caused him to be brought to him, in order to give him them, and recommend them to his practice with all the authority of a parent.

He advised him, above all things, to devote himself to the love of God, to avoid carefully every thing that might displease him, and rather to chuse the most tormenting death than to commit a mortal sin. He added, that if God sent him any adversity, he was to suffer it patiently, and believe that he had deserved it, and that it would redound to his advantage. That if, on the contrary, any prosperity were sent him, he was to thank God for it, and to be careful not to become more wicked for that reason, either through pride, or any other vice,

vice, because one ought not to make war against God with his own gifts. He then ordered him to go often to confession, and for that purpose to chuse discreet and wise confessors, who could teach him what to do and what to avoid. He recommended to him so to behave, that his confessors and his friends might without fear reprove him for his faults. He then enjoined him, devoutly to hear the church-service, to avoid vain distractions, and to pray to God vocally and heartily, thinking piously upon him, particularly at mass in the time of the consecration. He recommended to him likewise, to be meek, and charitable to the poor, feeling their miseries, and ready to assist them with all his power.

With regard to the troubles inseparable from humanity, he advised him speedily to discover to his confessor, or to some discreet man, the pains he felt; that, for that purpose, he must always have about his person some discreet people, whether monastics or seculars; that he should often converse with them, and remove ill-disposed persons far from him; that he should willingly hearken to pious discourses both in private and public; and that he should often recommend himself to the prayers of pious persons; that he should love all godliness, and hate all wickedness; that he should

should never suffer any one to be so bold, as in his presence to utter a word tending to countenance a crime; that he should be no evil-speaker, nor hurt the reputation of any one, either publicly or privately; that he should not suffer any in his presence to speak disrespectfully of God or his saints; that he should return thanks to God for the benefits which he might receive from his bounty, and thereby deserve to receive more; that he should be steady in the administration of justice, inclining to neither side, but always according to reason and equity; that he should maintain the plea of the poor against the rich, till the truth should be discovered; that he should likewise constantly lean to the side of such as might have any suit against himself, till the truth should be known, because by so doing his counsellors would be the bolder in the distribution of justice; that if he had any effects of another person's unjustly seized by himself or his officers, or even by any of his predecessors, and if that should be plainly proved, he should restore them without delay; that if the matter should be doubtful, he should be careful to get information about it from persons of discretion and probity; that he should employ all his skill to make his subjects live peaceably under his government, without doing

doing wrong to each other; that he should be faithful, liberal, and steady in his promises to his servants, that they might fear and love him as their master; that he should support the immunities and liberties in which his ancestors had supported the cities in his kingdom; that he should protect and encourage them, because that, from the riches of his good towns, his enemies and his barons would be afraid to displease him.

He then exhorted him seriously to protect and encourage churchmen; and he told him on that subject, that King Philip, his grandfather, on being acquainted by his officers, that the ecclesiastics were encroaching upon his rights, and diminishing them; that good prince answered, that indeed he thought so, but when he considered how much he was obliged to God, he could not resolve to have any difference with his church. He taught him by that example to love churchmen, to preserve their lands, and do them service, especially those by whom the faith is preached and magnified.

He advised him further to bestow benefices with mature counsel, and to deserving persons who had no church-revenue; that he should be careful never to make war unadvisedly, especially against Christians, and

and that if he should be forced so to do, he should preserve from all losses churchmen, and such as had done no harm ; that he should appease, as soon as possible, the wars and dissensions among his subjects ; that he should take care to have good judges ; that he should frequently inform himself about their behaviour, and that of his other officers ; that he should labour to extirpate crimes, especially swearing ; that he should exterminate heresies with all his power ; that he should take care that the expense of his household should be moderate and well regulated ; in fine, he bid him cause masses to be said for his soul after his death, and ended with wishing him all kinds of blessings. *God, said he, grant you grace, my son, to do his will continually, in such manner as he may be glorified by your means, and that we may be with him after this life, and praise him eternally.*

Such was the discourse of the pious king, and such his dying advice to Philip his successor. What he wrote to his daughter Isabella, queen of Navarre, is no less remarkable. These are his words :  
“ My dear daughter, I conjure you to  
“ love our Lord with all your might, for  
“ without that one can have no merit ; no-  
“ thing can be loved so properly ; to him  
“ every creature may say, *Lord, thou art*

“ my God, and my goods are nothing to thee.  
“ It was the Lord who sent his Son upon  
“ earth, and hath delivered him over to  
“ death to save us from hell. If you love  
“ him, my daughter, the advantage will  
“ be yours, and the measure of loving  
“ him is to love him without measure.  
“ He has well deserved that we should  
“ love him, for he first loved us. I wish  
“ you could comprehend what the Son of  
“ God has done for our redemption. My  
“ daughter, be very desirous to know how  
“ you may please him most, and bestow all  
“ your care to avoid every thing that may  
“ displease him. But particularly, never  
“ be guilty of any mortal sin, though you  
“ were to have all your body cut in pieces,  
“ and though your life were to be wrested  
“ from you by all manner of cruelties.  
“ Take pleasure in hearing God spoken of  
“ both in sermons and in private conver-  
“ sations ; shun too familiar discourse, ex-  
“ cept with very virtuous persons.”

It is not necessary here to repeat several things which he adds, because they are the same recommended by him to his son. But we must not omit the end of that discourse, of which these are the words : “ Obey, my daughter, your husband, your father, and your mother in the Lord ; “ you are bound to do so, both for their  
“ sakes,

“ sakes, and for the sake of our Lord,  
“ who has commanded it. In what is  
“ contrary to the glory of God, you owe  
“ obedience to none. Endeavour, my  
“ daughter, to be so perfect, that such as  
“ shall hear you mentioned and shall see  
“ you, may thereby take example. Be  
“ not too nice about cloaths and dress ;  
“ but if you have too many, give them a-  
“ way in charity : beware also of having  
“ an excessive care of your furniture. Be  
“ always desirous to do the will of God,  
“ purely for his sake, even though you  
“ should expect neither reward nor pu-  
“ nishment.”

Thus did this prince teach his children ; thus did he live himself. The love of God animated all his actions, and he highly commended the saying of a woman found in the Holy Land, holding a torch lighted in one hand, and a vessel full of water in the other ; who being asked what she intended to do with them ? answered, That she intended to set fire to paradise, and put out the fire of hell, that, said she, men may henceforth serve God from love alone.

By that love of God this great king was raised to such a height of sanctity, that he deserved to be canonized, and proposed to all princes as their model. For that reason I have been careful not only

only to relate his actions, but even to transcribe the precepts left by him to his children, which are the most excellent heritage of our family, and what we ought to reckon more precious than the kingdom which he has transmitted to his posterity.

## BOOK VI.

### PHILIP III. called, Le HARDI, the Bold.

THE day that St Louis died, his brother Charles, king of Sicily, had come to assist him with a strong fleet. He was much surprised that there was no sign of joy shown in the camp at his arrival; but he soon heard with much grief the public loss, and extreme affliction of all the French.

Though the town was so straitened, that it could not hold out long, the new king, impatient to come and take possession of his kingdom, made a truce for ten years with the king of Tunis, on condition that he should pay the expenses of the war; that he should allow the Christians living at Tunis to exercise and to preach their religion; that he should allow them liberty of trade

trade and freedom from taxes ; that he should pay to Charles, on account of his kingdom of Sicily, the same tribute that he was accustomed to pay to the Pope ; and that he should release all the prisoners without ransom. These were the conditions which Philip granted to the king of Tunis.

This very religious prince, and in that a great imitator of St Louis, thought he had made provision, by this treaty, for the welfare of religion, and the security of France. Afterward he put to sea, where he was so roughly handled by a storm, that he lost a great many of his ships, with all the riches that he had brought. His fleet was dispersed, and the queen his wife, who was pregnant, fell from her horse at Cozence, where she died. Alphonso, his uncle, died at Sienna. Jane, wife of Alphonso, and daughter of Raimond count de Toulouse, did not long survive her husband ; and Philip, immediately on his arrival in France, took possession of the county of Toulouse.

About the same time Gregory X. held a general council at Lyons, where it was resolved, among other things, that the cardinals should not go out of the conclave till they had elected the pope ; which was so ordained, because they had been two years in electing Gregory himself. The  
princes

princes of Germany resolved always to elect for emperor a German, and they chose Rodolph count de Habsburg, in Switzerland. From him is descended the house of Austria, and he was the first emperor of that family. This memorable act of piety is related of him: That, being on horseback a-hunting, he met a priest carrying the holy sacrament, in a rainy day, and deep roads in the country; he immediately alighted, and, making the priest mount upon his horse, he accompanied the holy sacrament, on foot, all the way to the church. The priest, moved with that action, gave him a thousand blessings, and foretold to him, that God would reward his devotion. In fact, to this pious action was attributed his elevation to the empire, which since has often been, and is still at this day in that family.

With respect to Philip, he had great wars with Spain, of which this was the occasion. Henry le Gras, the Fat, king of Navarre, died, and left a daughter in the cradle, named Jane, whom he put under the tuition of his wife, and ordered that she should be educated near the king of France; but the lords of the country gave other guardians to the young princess. The kings of Castille and Arragon, who had claims on Navarre, endeavoured to  
get

get possession of the daughter and of the kingdom. Which obliged Philip to send thither Eustace de Beaumarchais, who subdued all Navarre to him.

There happened still another quarrel between France and Castille. On the death of Ferdinand prince of Castille, Sancho, his brother, claimed the succession to the crown, though Ferdinand had left two sons by Blanche, St Louis's daughter; and though it was stipulated in that princess's contract of marriage, that her children should succeed to the crown, even though Ferdinand should die before his father Alphonso. As Sancho persecuted Blanche, and Alphonso openly favoured him, so far as to refuse to his daughter-in-law even the necessaries of life, she was forced to seek refuge with the king, her brother. She found the court very much imbroiled. Pierre des Brosses, formerly barber to St Louis, having been afterward raised by Philip to extraordinary power, had undertaken to discredit with him Queen Mary his wife, that there might no longer be any power above his own. For that purpose, he raised up against her an accuser, who maintained that she had caused poison Louis, Philip's eldest son, whom he had had by his first marriage, and who died in 1276.

The duke of Brabant sent a knight to defend

defend the innocence of the queen, his sister, in single combat ; he was hanged. Philip, who was weak and credulous, did not fail to consult impostors, who, by a false piety, had gained the reputation of having the gift of prophecy. He sent even the bishop of Bayeux to a Beguine, (this was a kind of nuns), who was reckoned informed by revelation of the most secret things. The bishop, who was an accomplice of Peter des Brosses, would never tell any thing for the queen's acquittal, though the Beguine had justified her; but, as he did not speak freely, the king sent back another bishop, who reported to him the truth, which the bishop of Bayeux had concealed from him. This report restored the queen's interest, and diminished that of Peter des Brosses ; because Philip knew that his minister acted with artifice, and was in combination with others to deceive him.

He sent afterward ambassadors to Alphonso king of Castille, to oblige him to do justice to Blanche and her children. But, not being able to obtain it, he marched as far as the Pyrenees, with an army so powerful, as would have destroyed all Castille, if Alphonso had not found means to amuse him by various negotiations ; during which he fell short of provisions, and was obliged to return, without doing any

any thing else but strengthening the power of Beaumarchais, in Navarre. Peter des Broffes was suspected of being in concert with Alphonso, to make Philip lose the opportunity of advancing his affairs. A Jacobine monk brought a packet to the king, in which was a letter sealed with Des Broffes's seal. It is not said what it contained; but, after the king had read it, Des Broffes was seized and hanged.

About the same time, great commotions arose in Sicily: the causes of which we must trace further back, from the time of St Louis. Frederic II. emperor and king of Sicily, had left that kingdom to his son Conrad; after whose death Mainfroi, Frederic's bastard son, had usurped it, imposing on the tender years of Conradin, his nephew, the son of Conrad. Urban IV. having resolved to expel that usurper, who was troublesome to him and to all Italy, thought it belonged to him to dispose of a kingdom held as a fief of the holy see, and gave it to Charles duke of Anjou, St Louis's brother. Clement IV. his successor, crowned Charles king of Sicily, at St John of Latran, bestowing on him, at the same time, the title of a Roman senator, of vicar of the empire in Italy, and of protector of the peace.

Mainfroi prepared himself for a defence;

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the

the two adverse armies met near to Beneventum. A great battle was fought, in which Mainfroi, deserted by his men, was beat and slain. So Charles remained peaceable possessor of the Two Sicilies ; that is to say, of the island, and of the kingdom of Naples ; he raised up again the Guelfs, which was the pope's party in Italy, and depressed the Gibelins, which was that of the emperor. The war was not thereby finished : young Conradin, duke of Suabia, came, with a strong army, to recover his father's kingdom, complaining that Mainfroi, his uncle, had violently forced it from him ; and maintaining, that the pope had no right to dispose of it to his prejudice. He was accompanied by Frederic duke of Austria, his cousin.

As soon as Charles was informed that these young princes were entered Italy, he went to meet them, and fought them in Abruzzo, near the lake Celano. They could not resist a general of so great experience, and an army so well disciplined. The princes, forced to betake themselves to flight, and fearing to be discovered, disguised themselves like grooms. In that condition, they arrived at Astura \*, a city  
of

\* This is now a castle in the *Campagna di Roma*, thirty miles from Rome, and is further remarkable for being the

of Italy, situated on the sea-shore. They bargained with a sailor, who promised to transport them to Pisa, a town in their interest; but, having given him a ring, as a pledge for his payment, he suspected they were persons of distinction, and informed the governor of it, who immediately had them seized. The princes were soon known. Charles had them tried upon the complaint of the communities; and, without regard to their birth, their innocence, or their valour, caused them to be condemned to be beheaded.

While they were carried to execution, their youth, their innocence, and their steadiness, drew tears from all the spectators. Frederic was first executed; Conrardin, lifting up his head, clapped it to his breast, and, addressing himself, with many sighs, to his dear kinsman, *It was I,* said he, *who brought upon you this wretched death.* Then, protesting that he died innocent, and that he had a lawful right to Sicily, he threw his gauntlet in the middle of the people, which was at that time the usual token of a challenge; and, after recommending his soul to God, courageously presented his head to the executioner. That

the place where Cicero was murdered by Mark Anthony's soldiers.

glove was taken up by a gentleman, and carried to Peter king of Arragon, Conradin's heir. As for Charles, he thought he sufficiently expiated his crime, by putting to death the executioner who had cut off the heads of the two princes ; but that served, on the contrary, to show how detestable his action was, since he thought the person was not to be allowed to live, who had only executed his orders.

That prince having subdued all his enemies in Sicily, had thoughts also of making himself master of the empire of Constantinople. He had married the daughter of Baldwin, the Latin emperor ; and, having in this manner entered upon his right, he made war vigorously on Michael Paleologus, the Greek emperor. He had, besides, bought the title of king of Jerusalem, from Mary daughter of John de Brienne, who gave herself for heiress of that kingdom, and he designed to conquer it. Nicolas III. seeing the ambition and power of this prince, conceived a jealousy against so formidable a neighbour. In vain did Charles give up the titles of Roman senator and vicar of the empire, to lessen the pope's suspicion. Nicolas persisted always in the design to destroy him : he was confirmed in his resolution, because Charles had refused to give one of his daughters to

to that pope's nephew, as thinking that alliance below him.

In this situation of affairs, John, formerly lord of Procida, an enemy to Charles and his family, an enterprising and artful man, resolved to frame a confederacy against the French, on pretence of their oppressions and debaucheries; and having discovered his intention to Charles's three most inveterate enemies, the Pope, Michael the Greek emperor, and Peter king of Arragon, he found them very inclinable to enter into it. By their interest, and the money which the Greek emperor furnished in great abundance, he had already gained a great many persons, when Pope Nicolas died. But though Martin IV. who had been elected in his place, favoured King Charles, duke of Anjou, the party was so well formed, and the design so far advanced, that it took effect; for on Easter-day, at the first toll of the bell for vespers, which was the signal given to the conspirators, the French were murdered at Palermo, and throughout all Sicily. In order to distinguish them, they were made to pronounce a certain Italian word, and if they pronounced it like a foreigner, and otherwise than the natives of the country, they were immediately massacred, without distinction of age, condition, or sex.

At the time of this bloody massacre Charles was in Tuscany, busy in making preparations against the emperor of the East. When he heard what had passed in Sicily, enraged at so barbarous an action, he came with a powerful army, in order to chastise the perfidy of the Sicilians, and pressed Messina so much that it was about to surrender, if Peter of Arragon had not found means to amuse him. This crafty man proposed to him to terminate the whole quarrel by a combat between them two. Charles, who was a prince of personal courage, accepted the challenge. The field for the combat was to be in Guienne, near Bourdeaux. By that artifice Peter removed the army which so much distressed Sicily. Charles was at the rendezvous on the day appointed; but Peter coming there only the day after, returned from thence immediately, and told for an excuse, that his enemy had come with a powerful army, which had obliged him to retire. Charles enraged at being thus derided, went into Provence; from whence, with a strong fleet, he set out on his return to Sicily.

Charles le Boiteux, the Lame, his son, had not the patience to wait him, and fought a battle against the lieutenants of Peter of Arragon, where that young prince was defeated and taken, and carried afterward

ward to Palermo. The Sicilians excited Constance, daughter of Mainfroi, and wife of Peter, to avenge on that young prince the death of Conradin her cousin. He was already condemned to die, and was just going to be executed, when Constance, moved with compassion, pardoned him: that princess rendered herself as deserving of praise for her clemency, as Charles of Anjou had made himself detestable for his cruelty. The young prince was not however set at liberty: he remained four years in prison, and was only liberated in the reign of Philip le Bel, the Fair, on the conditions which we shall relate. Charles of Anjou died a short time after his son's imprisonment, and left that unhappy captive his successor in his dominions.

It was much about that time that the king married Philip his eldest son, who was very young, to Jane queen of Navarre, and countess of Champagne, who was still younger than himself. He raised at the same time a strong army, in order to put Charles de Valois his second son in possession of the kingdom of Arragon, which Pope Martin had given him, after Peter's excommunication. He made himself master at the first, as it were in his passage, of the county of Roussillon; then entering Catalonia and Arragon, he took and pillaged

laged many towns and fortresses. He formally laid siege to Gironne, which Peter endeavoured to succour with all his forces. Ralph de Nelle constable of France, who commanded Philip's army, having information that Peter lay in ambuscade with 1500 horse and 2000 foot, and judging that a man accustomed to act only by subtlety would never be brought to fight on equal terms, advanced with 300 horse, who were the flower of the French nobility.

The French, ardently desirous to avenge the death of their countrymen who had been massacred in Sicily, mixed with the Arragonians who had given way at the first shock, but having resumed fresh courage, they held out a little, till they saw their king wounded. That prince did not fail to animate his men by fighting valiantly, notwithstanding his wound, and our soldiers on their side were resolved to die rather than not to sacrifice the Arragonians to the basely massacred French; but at last Peter's death secured the victory to our people. The governor of Gironne, who till then had made a vigorous defence, seeing his master dead, surrendered. The pestilence having immediately after broke out in our army, and causing great devastation in it, Philip was forced to retire. He had dismissed the foreign fleet which before he kept

kept in his pay, and Roger admiral of Arragon having picked it up, attaeked our people in all their ports with that succour. The soldiers pursued them with their swords, and the inhabitants with stones. Pushed on all quarters, they retired near the king, and surrounded his litter.

That prince, though sick, and almost dying, did not fail to encourage his people by geitures and words. At last the Arragonians were repulsed, and our army having passed the Pyrenean mountains, the king arrived at Perpignan, where he died some time after. All those conquests were lost except Roussillon, which was left to James king of Majorca, from whom his brother Peter had taken it; and indeed that king of Majorca had been the conductor of the French in this expedition. Philip's reign was of fifteen years continuance. His bowels were buried in the church of Narbonne, and his bones were carried to St Denys the 3d of December 1285.

PHILIP IV. surnamed LE BEL,  
the Fair.

PHILIP IV. his eldest son, surnamed le Bel, the Fair, brought back the army, and had himself crowned at Rheims, where Jane his wife, queen of Navarre and countess of Champagne,

Champagne, was crowned with him. He held a parliament in the beginning of his reign, where Edward king of England was present in quality of duke of Aquitaine. He demanded several things both for himself and the king of Arragon, to whose eldest son he had given his daughter in marriage; having been able to obtain nothing, he went to Bourdeaux, where he received the ambassadors of the kings of Castille, Arragon, and Sicily. That occasioned Philip to believe that he intended to make war against him; but that was not his design, he only proposed to treat about the reconciliation of Charles le Boiteux, the Lame.

At last that young prince, after a four years imprisonment, was released on these conditions, that he should pay 20,000 pounds of silver; that he should procure from the Pope, in favour of the Arragonian, the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily; and that Charles of Valois should desist from the claims which he had on the kingdom of Arragon. When he was at liberty, he did not think himself bound to keep the promises that had been extorted from him during his confinement; on the contrary, he got himself crowned king of Sicily by the pope, and obliged Charles de Valois his cousin to maintain his rights against the family of Arragon.

The

The war lasted long ; but at last, after several negotiations, Alphonso king of Arragon dying without children, peace was made with James king of Sicily his brother, on condition that France should give up Arragon to him, and that he should leave to the family of Anjou the whole kingdom of Sicily. James kept the treaty so faithfully, that Frederic his brother having got himself elected king by the Sicilians, he joined Charles le Boiteux, the Lame, to reduce him. The war lasted some time : by the treaty afterward made, Sicily on this side the fare of Messina (that is, the kingdom of Naples) remained to Charles, and that beyond the fare (that is to say, the island) was yielded to Frederic.

Charles the Lame died very much regretted by his people, on account of his good nature and justice. Charles Martel his eldest son was king of Hungary, in right of Mary his mother, sister of Ladislaus IV. and heiress of that kingdom ; he died before his father. After his death, Charles II. commonly called Carobert, had succeeded him in the kingdom of Hungary ; and his grandfather Charles the Lame being dead also, he wanted to take possession of that of Naples. Robert his uncle, third son of Charles the Lame, disputed it with him, and carried it. By that branch of Anjou  
the

the royal family of France reigned long in Hungary and Naples.

I wanted to represent in a continued series, and in a few words, the affairs of the princes of Anjou and of Sicily; that those of Philip le Bel, the Fair, might be related without interruption. He was engaged in a considerable war against the king of England, which had its rise from a very slight cause. Two seamen, of whom one was a Norman, and the other English, quarrelled together. Each of them engaged those of his own nation in his quarrel, and at last the two kings interested themselves in it. On account of this, new taxes were imposed, which were called subsidies, and which occasioned great outrages among the people.

Ralph de Neelle, constable of France, entered Guienne, took several places, and even Bourdeaux. Edward, in order to support himself against Philip, engaged on his side the emperor Adolphus, and Guy de Dampierre, earl of Flanders, by giving him hopes that he would marry the prince of Wales his eldest son to that earl's daughter. The emperor sent a bold challenge to Philip; but the king, to show how much he despised his menaces, sent him only for answer a sheet of blank paper.

With regard to the earl of Flanders,  
Philip

Philip having invited him to come to Paris, ordered him to be seized with his wife and daughter: he dismissed, some time after, the father and the mother, and kept the daughter. As Edward instigated many enemies against him, he also on his side raised Edward's subjects of Wales in rebellion against him, and brought upon his back John Baliol, king of Scotland. As for the emperor, Philip perplexed him with so many affairs in Germany, that he could never undertake any thing. Some add, that he appeased him by causing money to be given him underhand.

The king of England had no great difficulty to reduce the Welsh to reason; he likewise defeated the king of Scotland in a pitched battle, and having taken him prisoner, forced him to do him homage for his kingdom: but he was not able to withstand the French in Guienne; his troops were always beat there, and he lost almost all his fortifications, having with difficulty saved some of the most considerable, in which there were strong garrisons.

Our affairs went on no less successfully in Flanders. Robert count d' Artois, general of the French army, took Lisle, and defeated an army of sixteen thousand men. The count de Bar, at the solicitation of the king of England, entered Champagne.

The queen, who was a woman of heroic courage, marched in person to the defence of her country. The count was terrified, asked her pardon, and surrendered himself her prisoner. Immediately she sent her army into Flanders to the king her husband, who, fortified with that succour, took Furnes and Bruges. He afterward gave the command of the army in Flanders to Charles of Valois, his brother, one of the most famous generals of his time, who pushed the conquests further, and finished the reduction of the whole country. The earl retired to Ghent, as he had now no more but that place, where Charles pressed him so hard, that he forced him to surrender it, promising, however, to make his peace with Philip; but he was not able to prevail with him to fulfil the terms.

Flanders did not long remain obedient. The people, wearied with the bad usage of the governor whom the king had set over them, rebelled, and put at their head a butcher, and a one-eyed weaver whom they had released out of prison. Under such leaders they conspired against the French, and massacred them. In order to reduce those rebels, Philip raised an army of eighty thousand men; but the king of England found means to render those great preparations useless, by telling his wife, that

that if Philip her brother adventured a battle, he would be betrayed, but without discovering to her by whom. This information being communicated to Philip, that prince became diffident of all his officers, and returned without doing any thing.

Charles d' Artois went afterward to command in Flanders with Ralph de Neelle, constable of France. The Flemings had besieged Courtray, and had as it were buried themselves in deep trenches, resolved upon an obstinate defence. Charles d' Artois nevertheless undertook to force their camp. Ralph de Neelle opposed it; but Charles upbraiding him with treachery and cowardice, marched to the enemy with more keenness than prudence. The constable was slain fighting valiantly. Charles also was punished for his rashness, for he fell on the spot with 12,000 French. The rebels were soon chastised by the happy success of the battle of Mons-en-Puelle, where the French got a complete victory over the Flemish, who lost there 25,000 men. Their insuperable obstinacy did not yield for all that. The king returned thither in person, and was surprised in his camp; but putting himself immediately at the head of the few men about him, the rest assembled from all sides at his quarters,

and the Flemings were repulsed with great loss.

Mean-time the king of England, who, when pressed by the French, had at first made a truce, having renewed and prolonged it several times, at last concluded a peace. The places taken in Guienne were restored to him. He abandoned the Flemings, and set at liberty John Baliol, king of Scotland, whom his subjects would never after acknowledge, thinking him unworthy of a crown, who had bowed his knee before the king of England, and done him homage.

As for the Flemish, though beat on so many occasions, they were so headstrong, that they sent to beg the king, either to give them still another battle, or to grant them peace, and the quiet enjoyment of their privileges. Philip chose rather to accept this last condition, than to hazard a battle against desperate men. He released the earl of Flanders; and the peace was concluded, on condition, that the places on this side the Lys should continue to belong to the French, with Lisle and Douay, till the earl should have entirely settled with Philip, and the Flemings have paid him 800,000 livres. It was about that the grudges which had long been begun between

between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair became conspicuous.

As that pope attained the pontificate by an extraordinary piece of cunning, we must here relate the beginnings of his elevation. He was a cardinal in the time of Pope St Peter Celestine. He was reckoned very expert in business, and both a worthy and a knowing man. But his ambition tarnished the lustre of so many fine qualities, and as he had a great reputation, he knew well that he should be made pope if Celestine resigned. That honest pope had far more piety than knowledge; Benedict Cajetan accousts him, (that was the cardinal's name); he represents to him, that he had not the necessary qualities for supporting the load of ecclesiastic affairs, and that he would do a thing very acceptable to God if he returned into his solitude from whence he had been raised to the papacy. Persuaded by those reasons, he abdicated the pontificate; the cardinal was made pope, and took the name of Boniface. As he had raised himself by ambition to so high and holy an office, he performed its functions with extreme arrogance. But if that pope was haughty, Philip was not patient. This occasioned great animosities between them, of which it is no easy matter exactly to assign the causes:

causes : every day things happened to embitter the king's mind.

At the time that Philip had, as we have seen, liberated the earl of Flanders out of prison, detaining still his daughter ; the pope chosen arbiter by both parties, ordered the earl's daughter to be delivered to him, and pronounced the sentence with great pomp in a full consistory. The king was offended at it, because he thought the pope wanted to show his authority and power, to the prejudice of the majesty of kings. Besides, the Sarrazins taking advantage of our divisions, had taken Acra, that is to say, the only place of importance which the Latins still had in Syria. The pope moved, as he ought, with the loss of that city, thought it his duty to excite the Christians to retake it. But from his natural pride he did this in too imperious a manner. He ordered the kings of France and England, who were then at war, first to make a truce, and afterward to agree to turn their arms against the enemies of the faith ; he added great menaces if they did not obey ; which Philip took in very bad part, because, in political affairs, the pope ought to treat with kings in the way of exhortation and counsel, and not by way of commands and threatenings.

The pope sent into France Bertrand de Saiffet,

Saiffet, bishop of Panuez, who taking up  
on him the temper of his constituent, treat-  
ed Philip his sovereign in a very haughty  
manner. The king having heard a report  
that that bishop spoke of him in injurious  
terms, caused him to be seized. The pope  
convoked all the bishops of France to  
Rome, to consider in council of the means  
of opposing the incroachments of Philip  
against the ecclesiastic authority. The king  
prohibited them to depart the kingdom,  
and likewise to transport either gold or sil-  
ver. At the same time, on the request of  
the clergy, he delivered over the bishop of  
Panuez to the archbishop of Narbonne, his  
metropolitan. The clergy and nobility as-  
sembled, wrote to the pope, that in tempo-  
ral matters they acknowledged none but  
the king for their sovereign. But as they  
grew wearied of having a quarrel with a  
pope, some maintained that he was not one,  
because he was a Simoniac, a magician, and  
a heretic, which they offered to prove be-  
fore the general council, and the king pro-  
mised to have one convoked as soon as  
possible.

Mean-time he declared, that he appealed  
to the holy see, which he pretended was  
vacant, and to the universal council, from  
all that the pope had ordained, or should or-  
dain against him. The pope, who on his side  
had

had already excommunicated the king, was preparing greater things; he intended to publish a bull, by which he deprived him of his kingdom, and gave it to the first occupant, which he hoped to get executed by the emperor Albert of Austria. But this grand design was ineffectual; for having retired to Anagnia, which was his country, and where he thought he would be in greater safety during the publication of his bull, William de Nogaret, a French gentleman, joined by the Colonna, (these were Roman lords of a very ancient noble family, whom the pope had abused and banished), gained the Anagnians by money, and entered the pope's palace with the soldiers that he and Sciarra Colonna had picked up.

The pope hearing that piece of news, had himself dressed in his pontifical habit, and appeared with great constancy and majesty. As soon as he saw Nogaret, *Courage,* said he, *thou sacrilegious person, strike the pontiff; follow the example of thy ancestors the Albigenses;* for Nogaret was descended from a family infected with that heresy. Though he had resolved to seize the pope's person, in order to carry him, as he said, to the general council; nevertheless, restrained by his presence, and by respect for his dignity, he durst not lay hands upon him, and contented

tented himself with causing him to be guarded. Scarce had he retired, when the Anagnians repented of their perfidy and liberated the pope, who, returning to Rome, died thirty days after. Benedict XI. succeeded him, and possessed the see but eight months. He revoked some bulls of his predecessor that were injurious to Philip.

Bertrand Got archbishop of Bourdeaux, was elected in his place, and took the name of Clement V. He was thought an enemy of Philip; but that prince managed him so well, that he obliged him to settle in France. He had himself crowned at Lyons, and held the see at Avignon, where his successors remained long, which occasioned great mischiefs to the church, and to the kingdom. He held a general council at Vienne, where the king was present at the pope's right hand, but on a lower seat. Clement refused there to condemn the memory of Boniface VIII. for all the intreaties the king could use with him; he only annulled all the bulls that he had pronounced against France, and ordained that no disturbance should ever be raised against the king for the violence committed on Boniface; and Nogaret was contented with the abolition which he had got, on condition of his going to the war against the infidels.

In

In that same council, on the suit of Philip, the Templars were condemned. These were knights of noble extraction, who professed to make continual war against the infidels, and did so in fact with much valour and success. They were accused of enormous crimes, which they owned upon torture, and denied at execution. Mean-time they were burnt alive at a slow fire, with unheard-of cruelty; and it is not known whether there were not more avarice and vengeance than justice in that execution. What is evident is, that those knights, from too great riches and power, were become extraordinarily proud and dissolute. That order was suppressed by a decree of the council of Vienne. Their treasures were confiscated to the king, their lands and stock were given to the hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, who were since called knights of Malta. The former, after the taking of Acre, retired first to Cyprus, and afterward having taken from the Turks Rhodes, that famous island, they defended it valiantly against them, with the assistance of Amadeus V. duke of Savoy.

That action made a great noise; for the power of the Turks begun then to become more formidable than ever. It was about the year 1300, that Osman or Ottoman their first emperor, having made great conquests,

quests, established the seat of his empire at Prusa, a city of Bithynia. Thence arose that magnificent Ottoman family, which is every day extending the vast empire that it possesses in Asia, Africa, and Europe. A little before the council of Vienne, Louis, Philip's eldest son, was crowned king of Navarre at Pampeluna, that kingdom having fallen to him by the death of Queen Jane his mother, who died the 2d of April 1304. That princess was famed for her virtue, and so great a favourer of men of letters, that she founded, in the university of Paris, a famous college, called *the college of Navarre*, which has produced a great many persons eminent in all kinds of sciences, and especially in theology. This example should induce princes to love and protect letters, since they see even a woman taking so much care to improve them.

The war in Flanders was renewed, because Earl Robert pretended that Lisle, Douay, and Orchies were to be restored to him, and because the inhabitants of the country refused to pay the sums which they had engaged by the treaty of peace. Philip made extraordinary levies of men and money for that war. They were unnecessary, because Enguerrand de Marigny, who had the chief interest with the king, gained, as it

it is said, by money, obtained his consent to a truce.

Philip had three sons by Jane his wife, Louis, Philip, and Charles. Their wives were accused of adultery in open parliament in presence of the king. Margaret, wife of the eldest, and Blanche, wife of the third, were convicted, and confined in a castle, where Margaret died some time after. Jane, wife of the second, was acquitted, either by her own innocence, or the good-nature and prudence of her husband. The gallants were flayed alive, dragged across the fields, and at last beheaded.

Moreover, the reign of Philip was full of seditions and rebellions, because the people and the clergy were very much burdened, and also because the coin was unseasonably raised and lowered, and even made of a bad standard, which occasioned great losses to private persons, and ruined all commerce. The king went in person to Languedoc and Guienne, to appease the commotions of those provinces; which he accomplished by caressing the nobility, and treating the towns kindly.

The revolts of the Parisians were pushed further; for they pillaged the house of Stephen Barbette, Philip's treasurer. They were even so daring as to besiege himself in his house, and surrounded it with loud clamours.

clamours. The king's ministers found means to appease those mutineers, and afterward the most guilty were punished. Philip reunited to the crown the city of Lyons, and, in 1307, erected the lordship of that city, which was but a barony, into a county; which he left, with the jurisdiction, to the archbishop and chapter of St John. This is the original of the title of *Counts de Lyon*, assumed by the canons of that church. The counties of Angouleme and La Marche were also yielded to him by Mary de Luzignan; and, in 1297, he erected Brittany into a dukedom and peerage. He is thought to be the person who fixed the parliament to Paris, having established it in his own palace, where it still administers justice, though some others ascribe this establishment to his son. He was the first who walled round the palace, and who added some buildings to the Louvre, which has since been rebuilt and enlarged, by his successors, with so much magnificence.

When he was dying, he recommended to his son not to burden the people as he himself had done. But those warnings which princes often give in the extremity of life, have little effect; because they do not repair past abuses, and are no longer in a condition to hinder future evils. He died at Fontainebleau, in 1314.

## LOUIS X. surnamed HUTIN.

Though Louis, surnamed Hutin, that is to say, wilful and valiant, had begun to examine into affairs in the lifetime of his father, Charles de Valois, his uncle, had almost the whole power. He first attacked Enguerrand de Marigny, whom he had hated ever since the preceding reign, because, in a great law-suit that happened between two considerable families, he had taken part against those whom Charles protected. He began by requiring him to give an account of his administration of the finances, and asked him before the king what was become of the great sums of money raised on the subjects? He answered, that he had given the best part of them to himself. Charles answering that he lied, Enguerrand had the audacity to reply that he himself did so.

This reply having exasperated Charles's hatred, Enguerrand was seized in his house at Paris, and imprisoned in the castle of the Louvre, of which he was governor. His trial was delayed, because they had not grounds of conviction against him. Meantime were found with his wife several waxen images, by which it was pretended, on the credit of the magicians, that she could put the king to death. She was taken and strangled.

strangled. Enguerrand was condemned to the same death, and the statues raised for him were pulled down.

Some time after Charles was seized with a grievous disease, which he took for a punishment, because he had put Enguerrand de Marigny to death; whether he thought him innocent, or was sensible that he had prosecuted him rather out of revenge than for the sake of justice, he omitted nothing to make satisfaction to his memory. About this time, the truce with Flanders being ended, whilst the Count de Hainault was laying waste the country along the Scheld, Louis attacked Courtray. But the continual rains forced him to raise the siege. After raising that siege, he died, in 1316, and left his wife, Clemence, about four months gone with child. He had had by his first wife, Margaret of Burgundy, a daughter named Jane, who was queen of Navarre. That prince's relations by the mother's side maintained, that France ought to belong to her, if the queen was delivered of a daughter.

## JOHN I.

Till the queen's delivery, Philip, brother of the deceased king, was declared regent of the kingdom. Clemence, at the

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end.

end of five months, was delivered of a son, named John, who lived but eight days : and, after this short reign, notwithstanding Jane's pretensions, Philip was acknowledged as king, by the unanimous consent of the peers and lords, who, according to the Salic law, and the ancient custom down from Merovée, determined that the females were not capable of succeeding.

PHILIP V. surnamed *le Long*, the Long.

PHILIP, to appease Eudes duke of Burgundy, who had supported Jane's party, gave him, in 1318, his daughter in marriage, and retained the kingdom of Navarre, of which Jane was heiress. At last, after several truces, peace was made with Flanders, by the pope's mediation, on condition that the Flemings should pay the king 100,000 crowns of gold, in twenty equal payments : Lisle, Orchies, and Douay, remained in the hands of the French, as a security for the payment. At that time, the towns in Flanders had made themselves very powerful, and the earl had very little authority in them.

Some time after, a grievous pestilence broke out in France, and the contagion was so universal, that people died near the wells as soon as they had drank of their waters.

waters. The Jews were accused of having poisoned them ; and what was said against an odious nation was too easily credited, though it was said without proof. They had been banished in the time of Philip the Fair, and recalled in that of Louis Hutin, the Wilful. In the reign of Philip the Long, they were put to death by all the variety of torments, and they were so terrified at it, that several of them, who were in prison, resolved to be each other's executioners. The person who remained last broke a bar, and tied a cord to the window, through which passing his head, he let himself go in order to strangle himself ; but the cord failing, he fell into the ditch, still alive, and was taken up and hanged. Philip's reign was short : he died, without male issue, in 1321 ; and, though he left several daughters, the kingdom was not disputed with Charles le Bel, the Fair, his brother, who took also the title of king of Navarre.

#### CHARLES IV. surnamed LE BEL, the Fair.

In the beginning of his reign, he repudiated Blanche, his first wife, convicted of adultery, as has been said, and married Mary of Luxemburg, who did not live

long. He declared war against Edward II. king of England, because he wanted to protect his steward, who was causing a castle to be fortified on the frontiers of Guienne, notwithstanding the prohibitions of the king, who was sovereign lord of that country. He sent Charles of Valois into Guienne, who took it all except Bourdeaux, and forced the governor to abandon almost the whole province. Isabella, queen of England, and Charles's sister, came over to France to accommodate the affair, and managed it so artfully, that she obtained from the king, her brother, the investiture of the duchy of Aquitaine, for her son, and returned home highly satisfied. Charles of Valois died, after getting Enguerrand de Marigny justified, and obtaining his body, which he caused to be honourably buried.

Mean-time affairs were in strange confusion in England: Hugh Spencer the younger, King Edward's favourite, governed that prince absolutely; and Spencer's father, whose name was also Hugh, had all the power. He persuaded the king, that the lords intended to make an attempt against his person, so that, in one single parliament, he caused twenty-two barons to be seized, and got them all beheaded without trial. The same Spencers likewise sowed division

division between the king and the queen, which obliged Isabella to take refuge with her brother. At first, he promised her all that she could desire ; but Spencer distributed so much money, that he gained those who had most power at court ; and was so successful, that the king prohibited any one to assist his sister. Expelled France, she went into Hainault, where John, brother of Guy count de Hainault, offered to accompany her into England, with a great many of the nobility. With this succour she repassed the sea, and the barons joined her.

The king was at Bristol, a town very considerable for its fortifications, its citadel, and port. Spencer, the father, was in the town with the earl of Arundel. The king and the younger Spencer were shut up in the castle. The queen besieged the town ; and, as the inhabitants demanded a capitulation, she would not agree to it, but on condition that Spencer should be delivered up to her. She had him tried ; and that decrepit old man, of ninety years of age, was beheaded at the castle-gate, in presence of the son and the king himself. As that prince was endeavouring to escape in a skiff, with his favourite Spencer, they were both taken, and delivered up to the queen. Spencer's heart was taken out, which, in England,

England, is the usual way of executing traitors ; his body was quartered ; the parliament met, and the king, being accused of several crimes, was declared unworthy of reigning. He was imprisoned in a castle, where he was honourably served, but had no power. In his place was put Edward III. who harassed France with so many wars.

Charles, however, continued to govern the kingdom with great prudence and virtue. In his time the laws and learning flourished in the kingdom. He caused justice to be administered with great exactness and severity ; and, by this means, he was obliged to cause punish a creature of John XXII. called Jordan, because, having often pardoned him, at the pope's request, he always relapsed into the same crimes. But, amidst so many good actions, he was blamed for not being careful enough to relieve his subjects, who were overburdened with taxes ; and because, after he had hindered a tax which the pope wanted to lay on the clergy of France, he at last consented to it, on condition that he should have a share.

This prince died too soon, and left his third wife, Jane d'Evreux, four or five months gone with child. Thus ended the posterity of Philip the Fair ; it passed away like

like a shadow : his three sons, who promised a numerous family, succeeded each other in less than fourteen years, and died all without leaving male issue. Till the queen's delivery, Philip of Valois, cousin-german of the deceased king, had the regency, with consent of all the peers and barons of the kingdom, who had no regard to the requisition which Edward III. king of England made of it. The queen being delivered of a daughter the 2d of April 1328, Edward again pretended that the kingdom belonged to him, in right of Isabella his mother, because he was a male, and the nearest relation of the deceased. The peers and lords determined, that to obtain the kingdom of France was so high an honour, that women not being capable of having any right in it, could not transmit any to their descendants. Edward acquiesced in the judgment, and Philip was acknowledged king.

## BOOK VII.

## PHILIP VI. of Valois.

PHILIP restored the kingdom of Navarre to Jane, daughter of Louis Huitin, who had married Philip count d'Evreux,

vreux, grandson of Philip III.; and he began his reign with an action equally glorious and just. The Flemings having rebelled against their earl, he undertook to reduce them to reason. He fought a battle with them at Cassel, where he killed 12,000 of them, and restored the earl's authority. It did not stand long, and the Flemings were every day guilty of new disorders. On his return from this war, Philip ordered Edward to come and do him homage for Guienne, and the other lands held of him. He was then at Amiens, with the kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Majorca.

Edward obeyed his order, and was surprised to see at the court of France so much magnificence and grandeur. He was also admired by the kings for his great understanding and courage. He had done, a little before, an action which rendered him very remarkable. Roger Mortimer, a favourite of the queen his mother, governed the kingdom very peaceably, along with the earl of Kent, the king's uncle. A jealousy having arisen between them, Roger, assisted by the queen, and in concert with her, persuaded the king that the earl intended to poison him. Edward, being too credulous, and accustomed to yield to his mother in every thing, put his uncle to death. But it was not long before he discovered

covered the perfidy and malice of Roger. The queen was not reputed nicely chaste, and she was even suspected of being pregnant by her favourite, who had enaged her in his interest by that shameful intercourse.

When the king discovered those things, enraged against that miscreant, who had killed his uncle, debauched his mother, disgraced the royal family in so many ways, abused his king's youth, and imposed on his easy temper by so many artifices, he punished his crimes by an ignominious death. As to the queen, he ordered her to be kept in a castle, with the honour becoming her high rank; but without having any share in public matters, which he began himself to govern with much prudence.

Philip, after having received his homage in great magnificence, went to Avignon, to visit the pope, attended by the kings of Bohemia and Navarre. They found there the king of Arragon, and they all together took the cross, after a very affecting sermon, which the pope preached to them on a Good-friday. Philip engaged in the same confederacy the kings of Hungary, Sicily, and Cyprus, with the Venetians. He had of his own a sufficient number of ships to transport 40,000 men; and, since Godfrey of Bouillon, never had Christendom so strong

strong an armament, nor had it ever made so great preparations against the infidels; but Edward's ambition, and the English wars, rendered this great design abortive.

We are here entering upon the most perilous times of the monarchy, in which France had like to have been destroyed by the English, whom, till then, she had almost continually beat. We shall now see them storming our fortified towns, wasting and invading our provinces, defeating several royal armies, killing our most valiant generals, taking even kings prisoners, and, at last, getting one of their kings crowned in Paris itself. Then, all at once, by a kind of miracle, we shall see them driven out, and shut up in their island, being scarcely able to preserve one single place in all France. So great commotions arose, as is very usual, from very inconsiderable beginnings.

Robert of Artois, to whom Philip was chiefly bound for his elevation to the crown, pretended that the county of Artois belonged to him; and, as he wanted proofs, he forged false deeds to establish his right. Philip had at first endeavoured, by mild measures, to reclaim Robert, who, being four times summoned before the court of peers, refused to appear. He was there condemned, as he deserved, and left the kingdom

kingdom with menaces against the king. His wife, the king's own sister, was seized, with her two children ; and Robert, in revenge, went over to England, and persuaded Edward to declare war against Philip.

That prince would not engage in so hazardous an undertaking without fortifying himself by powerful alliances, and for that purpose he sent ambassadors into the Low Countries, who gained respect by their magnificent way of living. They engaged both the towns and princes in the king of England's party, by the great presents that they gave them. Edward came himself to Antwerp, to endeavour to gain the duke of Brabant, and the other princes of the empire. They would not declare themselves, till they had obtained the emperor's consent. But they furnished Edward with an argument to persuade him to the war ; which was to represent to him, that, contrary to treaties made between the emperors and France, Philip had acquired several castles in the empire, and even the city of Cambray. The emperor consented, and declared Edward vicar of the empire, with orders to all the princes to obey him.

Edward having held a solemn assembly, caused his commission of vicar to be read there with great formality, and sent heralds

to declare war against Philip, both in his own name, and in that of several princes of the empire. He afterward besieged Cambray, which he was not able to take ; after which, passing the Scheld, he entered the kingdom of France. There he sent a herald to demand of Philip a day to fight him ; he appointed it, and the two armies were already met. Philip had in his a great many princes, with all the nobility of France. All were ready for fighting, and the king even ardently wished it ; but his council thought it improper to hazard the whole kingdom against the king of England, who, on his side, hazarded nothing. So they separated without fighting, though the king opposed it much, and was angry with his counsellors ; but the two fleets having met off Sluys, a bloody battle ensued.

The Normans, who composed the French fleet, had more men and ships than the English ; and besides, they had the advantage of the sun and the wind. The English tacked a great way about to have both in their backs. At that time the Normans set up a shout, that the enemy were flying, and durst not wait them ; but they were much surprised, when they saw them all at once falling back upon them. A vast number of darts were thrown on both sides ;

sides ; the vessels grappled, and they came to close engagement. Edward exhorted his men personally, and fought valiantly. Our ships were partly taken, partly sunk, and all the French drowned.

The English lost the greatest part of their nobility ; and the king, who had his thigh pierced through with a javelin, avenged his wound on the admiral of the French fleet, whom he ordered to be hanged up at a mast. He marched afterward and besieged Tournay with 120,000 men, of whom the Flemings were a considerable part. He had gained them by means of James Artevelle their general. He was a brewer, factious and enterprising, who thought nothing difficult ; he was cunning and resolute, as bold in execution as artful in haranguing the populace. By those means he was so skilful in managing the Flemings, that he had the entire command of them. He had men ready prepared in all the towns, who executed whatever he pleased, and killed on his first order all such as opposed his designs ; so that his enemies were not safe in any part of the country, and the earl himself durst scarcely appear.

Edward seeing his vast power in Flanders, omitted nothing to gain him. Artevelle consented to it easily, because he

wanted a foreign potentate to support his dominion against lawful power ; but as the Flemings said that they could not declare against the king of France, who was their sovereign, and to whom they owed great sums, Artevelle proposed to Edward, to declare himself king of France ; which he did, and having granted his acquittance under that title, the Flemings were contented with it.

After that time they were always attached to Edward's interest ; but, with all that assistance, the siege of Tournay made no great progress, though the town was sufficiently straitened, there being in it many soldiers and few provisions. Mean-time the king of Scotland, seeing the king of England busied in so difficult a siege, wisely profited of the opportunity, and retook the places which Edward had taken from him. Philip marched with a numerous army to succour Tournay, the siege of which was at last raised by a truce, which was afterward prolonged to two years, to give time for the conclusion of a peace.

The war broke out again on account of the affairs of Brittany. John III. duke of Brittany, dying without children, left the duchy to his niece, daughter of his second brother, who was dead before him. He had married her to Charles of Blois, a sister's

ster's son of Philip's, in order by that means to procure for his niece the protection of France. He had a third brother by another marriage, John count de Montfort, who affirmed that the duchy belonged to him, in prejudice of his niece. He immediately made himself master of Nantes and Rennes, whose inhabitants declared for him. He took afterward Hennebon and Brest; and to secure himself of a protector, he did homage for the duchy of Brittany to the king of England. The king ordered him to appear before the court of peers. He came with a numerous retinue of nobility.

As soon as he appeared in the house of peers, the king turned toward him, and asked, why he had invaded the duchy of Brittany without his permission? and why he had done homage for it to the king of England, since he knew that duchy held of the crown of France? He answered unconcernedly, that he had not done homage to England, and that his enemies had made false reports of him to the king; but that as for the duchy, it legally belonged to him, because he was the nearest male relation of the deceased, being his own brother.

The king forbade him to take possession till he had pronounced his sentence, and

ordered him to remain at Paris without stirring out of it ; but as he was afraid of being seized, he made his escape, and returned into Brittany notwithstanding the prohibition. The parliament passed its decree, and adjudged the duchy to Charles, for two reasons ; first, because he had married the daughter of the elder brother ; secondly, because Montfort was blameable, both for his doing homage to the king of England, and for his disobedience to the king, in retiring without his leave. Charles set out immediately after to take possession of the duchy. He took Nantes, and in it John de Montfort, who was imprisoned in the tower of the Louvre ; from whence he was liberated in 1343, after swearing never to pretend to the duchy. He, however, went over to England, to seek assistance, and, at his return, died in the castle of Hennebon.

His wife did not lose courage ; she animated the inhabitants of Rennes, among whom she lived, showing them a little child, whom she had called John after his father, and saying to them, *There is the son of the man to whom you were so faithful ; there is your prince who will recompense you, when he is a man, for the services which you shall do him in his infancy.* She added, that they must not suffer themselves to be afflicted for the death

death of a man, but regard the honour and well-being of the state which was immortal.

All those exhortations did not hinder them from being under a necessity to yield to force. Charles of Blois besieged Rennes, and the town was forced to surrender. The countess took refuge at Hennebon, where she was no sooner arrived than she was besieged there by the count. That town, situated on the river Blavet, was very considerable at that time, because the town of Blavet, which covers it, and which lies at the mouth of the river, was not then in being. The countess, trusting to the fortifications of that place, resolved on a vigorous defence. She every day went up to the top of a tower, from whence she saw the combatants ; she observed those who behaved well, and encouraged them from above. At their return from fighting, she gave them rewards, embraced them, and extolled them to the heavens by her praises. Thus she encouraged every body so much, that the girls and women were always on the walls, furnishing stones against the enemy.

She did something more surprising ; she put herself at the head of her men, who made a vigorous sally, and repulsed the French ; but advancing somewhat too far, she

she was so cut off that she could not again get into the place. The garrison were in great concern about what was become of her; but some days after, at break of day, she came from Breft with a reinforcement of 600 horse, broke through one of the quarters, and entered triumphantly into the place with trumpets sounding, and amidst the loud acclamations of all the people. So by her valour she saved the town, which could not be taken by storm.

She behaved no less valiantly at the famous naval battle off Guernsey, where the historians observe, that with a heavy sword she made a great slaughter of the enemy; but all at once, as the engagement was very obstinate on both sides, there fell so heavy a rain, and the clouds were so thick, that they scarcely saw each other, and the ships were all dispersed.

Robert of Artois, who commanded the English fleet, landed near Vannes, and made himself master of that place. Charles of Blois soon retook it, and, in a sally made by the besieged, Robert of Artois was wounded. As he wanted to be carried to England, the sea-air and the tossing of the ship occasioned an inflammation of his wounds, so that he died on his arrival at London.

Edward himself went over to Brittany to besiege Vannes. John duke of Normandy,  
Philip's

Philip's eldest son, went to its assistance. The two armies were often ready to fight, but did nothing considerable. At last a truce for two years was concluded by the pope's mediation. During the war in Brittany the king of Scotland retook the places which the king of England had taken from him. He besieged the castle of Salisbury, where the countess made a vigorous defence. She was reckoned the handsomest and modestest woman in England. As she was very much straitened, she demanded succours from Edward. She gave the person whom he sent to her such proper instructions that she got the siege raised. Edward came to visit her on hearing her character. At the first sight he was charmed with her; and as he was beginning to discover his passion for her, she said, *You would not wish to dishonour me, or that I should dis- honour my husband, who serves you so faithfully: you yourself, should I forget myself so far, would be the first to punish me.* She always persisted in her resolution, and her chastity was the admiration of all England.

The truce which we have mentioned did not last long, because the king of England, wanting an opportunity to break it, sent a challenge to Philip for causing cut off the heads of some lords of Normandy and Brittany, who were accused of treason. He sent

fent at the same time the earl of Derby to retake some places in Gascony which the French had taken, among others Reolle, situated on the Garonne. Derby having wrought the mine far under the castle, the besieged surrendered on condition of having their lives and liberties. The French, in the mean time, did not remain idle, and the duke of Normandy came with 100,000 men and besieged Aiguillon, a fortification in Agenois.

About that time happened the death of James d'Artevelle, who having proposed to make Flanders hold of England, by that proposal incurred the hatred of the inhabitants of Ghent. Every one exclaimed that it was not to be suffered that such a man should dare to dispose of the earldom of Flanders. With these exclamations they crowded about his house, and redemanded an account of the money which he was accused of having transported to England; though he affirmed, and with truth, that that accusation was false, nobody would believe him. As he was endeavouring to soften the populace with fair speeches, haranguing them from a window, they broke into his house from behind, and he was knocked down without ever being able to soften his murderers. Thus died that leader  
of

of sedition, killed by those whom he had raised in rebellion against their prince.

The siege of Aiguillon was continued, and occasioned Godfrey de Harcourt, a great lord of Normandy, to give Edward an advice which proved pernicious to France. That lord had been a favourite of the duke of Normandy, and afterward disgraced without being guilty of any fault, purely by the jealousy and intrigues of the courtiers. He took refuge in England, and to be avenged of France, he advised Edward to enter it through Normandy, assuring him that he would find the ports disgarnished, and the province defenceless, because all the flower of the nobility was with the duke before Aiguillon. Edward trusted to that advice, and found Normandy in the state that Godfrey had told him. He made great depredations there, and took several places, among others Caen, which he pillaged. He advanced even as far as Poissi, burnt St Germain-en-Laie; and from thence marched to Picardy, where he destroyed every thing with fire and sword. However, Beauvais resisted, and gave Philip leisure to assemble his troops. He caused all the passages of the Somme to be guarded, that he might shut up and starve Edward. But that prince having promised a recompense to such as should show him the ford, one of  
the

the prisoners discovered it to him ; he forced the guard that Philip had set there, and passed the river. Philip followed him, and the armies met at Crecy, or Cressy, a village of the county of Ponthieu.

When they were in order of battle, Edward went from rank to rank inspiring courage in every one, still more by his resolute countenance than by his words. The English were but few in number, and the French were much stronger ; but there was much confusion among them, and great regularity among their enemies. The battle began on Philip's side by the Genoese crossbow-men ; though fatigued with the weight of their arms, and by the long march which they had made that day, they nevertheless made their attack vigorously. Mean-time the English stood fast, but did not shoot ; after which they advanced a step, and gave their discharge in their turn ; they broke the Genoese with their arrows, who immediately took to their heels, and fell foul of the rest of the army. Philip perceiving they put the ranks in confusion, ordered them to be killed, so that they were put to the sword.

The prince of Wales, the king of England's eldest son, who was hardly sixteen or seventeen years of age, was in the battle, and commanded a part of the army. The French

French made so strong an effort on the side where that prince was posted, that an impression was made on his troops. Immediately word was sent to Edward that his son was much straitened. He asked if he were dead or wounded; they told he was neither the one nor the other, but that he was in great danger. *Let the young man fight on*, replied he; *I want the day to be his, and to have no more news of him till he be dead or victorious.* This saying being reported where the prince was, so animated every one, that the French could no longer sustain the shock. Philip had a horse killed under him while he was fighting valiantly, and at the time that he wanted again obstinately to return to the battle, the count de Hainault his cousin carried him off notwithstanding his resistance, telling him, that he ought not to destroy himself unnecessarily; that besides, though he had been beat this time, he might another time repair his loss, but that if he were either taken or killed, his kingdom would be pillaged, and destroyed past remedy. Philip at last allowed himself to be persuaded, and this great king arrived with only other four, in the night-time, at a little castle whither he retired.

There were in that battle on our side a great number of princes taken or killed; among others, John king of Bohemia, son

of the emperor Henry VII. was killed there fighting valiantly. France lost in the field 30,000 men. The prince of Wales presenting himself to Edward on the field of battle, that excellent father embraced him, and prayed God to grant him perseverance; the prince at the same time kneeling, and showing an earnest desire to please the king his father. Edward, in order to profit by his victory, went and besieged Calais; but, after viewing and considering the place, he thought he should not be able to take it by force, therefore he resolved to starve it. He made quite round it another town of carpenter's work, and built a castle over the harbour, for fear provisions should come in by sea.

The governor having dismissed all the useless hands, Edward, who saw so many old men, children, and women coming toward him in tears, had compassion on them, and instead of causing them to return, as is the custom in such cases, he allowed them to pass, and even gave them charity very liberally. Some time after he was informed, that the duke of Normandy had raised the siege of Aiguillon, and that David king of Scotland wanting to enter England, had been repulsed and taken prisoner. He was also informed, that Derby had taken Poitiers by assault, which had been

no difficult matter, because the burghers, though resolved on an obstinate defence, did not find themselves in a condition to resist: they had neither officers to command them, nor soldiers to support them. He heard at the same time that Charles of Blois, notwithstanding the French interest, had been taken in a battle, and sent prisoner to England.

Meantime the town of Calais being so closely invested, Philip in vain advanced to succour it. The English guarded the avenues to it so well, that he could never come near it, so that the town was forced to ask a capitulation. Edward was so much irritated at the long defence of the inhabitants, that at first he would only allow them to surrender at discretion, and he destined the richest to death and plunder. At last he required six of the principal burghers to be delivered to him to be put to death, and would never depart from that condition, so inexorable was he. So hard a condition being reported in the assembly of the people, all of them were terrified. In fact, what could they do? upon what could they resolve in so cruel an extremity? who shall be the unfortunate persons to be delivered to certain death? As they were in this confusion, not knowing on what to determine, the most honourable

and richest of all the inhabitants of the town, named Eustace de St Pierre, presented himself in the middle of the people, declaring, that he willingly devoted himself to death to save his country. Five other burghers followed that example; and when they were brought to the king, they threw themselves at his feet to implore his mercy, but he would not hear them. In vain did all the lords of the court intercede for them. That prince, always inflexible, had already sent to fetch the executioner to do his office on those unfortunate men, and they were on the scaffold, ready to receive the blow, when the queen arrived in the camp, and interceded for them. The king pardoned them at her request.

Afterward having made a truce for two years, from which, however, Brittany was excepted, that victorious prince returned to England. Some time after, Godfrey de Charny, who commanded Philip's army on the frontier of Picardy, conceived the design of retaking Calais by correspondence. For that purpose he endeavoured to bribe Emeri its governor, thinking, that as he was a Lombard, he would suffer himself more easily to be gained than an Englishman would do. In fact, he consented to deliver up the place to him for 20,000 crowns.

Edward,

Edward, who was vigilant and well informed, soon discovered the whole plot. He sent an order to the governor to come to him, and spoke to him in this manner : “ Are you not ashamed, you to whom I had intrusted the most important place that I had, to have been wanting in fidelity to me ? Was I not able enough to reward your services, and had you no other means of making a fortune than to sell your honesty to my enemies ? ” The governor, surprised at first, denied the thing ; but at last, being convicted, he threw himself at the king’s feet, and asked his pardon. Edward, remembering that he had been brought up about him, suffered himself to be prevailed with, and pardoned him ; but, at the same time, he commanded him to return speedily, to finish his treaty with the French, and even to take their money ; in fine, to act so cunningly that they might suspect nothing ; that, as for the rest, he would quickly follow him, and would be at Calais to punish their trick by a trick more certain and more just.

The governor returned back well instructed in his master’s intentions, which he executed punctually. Edward being informed of the state of things, set out when it was time, and came to Calais incognito,

under the command of one of his captains. The French advanced at the time appointed, and came up to the gates in the middle of the night, thinking they should soon be opened to them. They were, in fact, opened, but it was to attack them. The English came pouring on them from all sides, when they were least thinking of it, so that they were all killed or made prisoners.

It happened, in the hurry, that the king of England, without being known, was singly engaged with a knight named Eu-stace Ribaumont. That lord fought stoutly, and gave the king such heavy strokes, that he twice made him bend his knee to the ground. The king, however, made so good use both of his dexterity and strength, that he made him deliver up his sword, and made him his prisoner. He gave a magnificent entertainment to all the prisoners, and perceiving among the rest Eu-stace de Ribaumont, *Chevalier*, says he to him, *be not ashamed of your conflict, here is the combatant with whom you was engaged.* At the same time he gave him a hatband set with very precious pearls, and dismissed him without ransom.

About that time, Humbert, dauphin of Vienne, in deep affliction for his only son, resolved to turn a Jacobin monk, and deliberated

deliberated whether he should sell Dauphiné to the Pope, or give it to the kings of France. But his nobility and people prevailed with him rather to give it to France, because they expected more protection from that quarter in the continual wars which they had with Savoy. Thus that fine country fell to the kings of France, whose eldest sons have taken the title of Dauphins. This new acquisition was a kind of consolation for the losses which Philip had just suffered. He did not live long after, having died in 1350. He left for his successor John his eldest son.

### JOHN II.

At the beginning of this reign, Ralph count d'Eu, constable of France, who had been taken prisoner, and corrupted during his confinement by the English, at his return, was accused of treason; and, making but a bad defence, had his head cut off. John gave his office to Charles of Spain, who was of the royal family of Castille. Charles II. surnamed le Mauvais, the Naughty, king of Navarre, the king's son-in-law, conceived a jealousy and hatred against the new constable, because he was a favourite of the king, his father-in-law, who had given him the county of An-gouleme,

gouleme, to which the king of Navarre laid claim. He hired assassins to kill him in bed; he was even so daring, as openly to own so horrible an action, and retiring to the county of Evreux, which was his, he thence wrote to the good cities of the kingdom, that he had only prevented a man who had made an attempt against his own life. The king was as full of indignation as it merited at so black an action, and ordered the king of Navarre to appear before the court of peers.

Several persons became mediators between the father-in-law and son-in-law. Charles refused to appear, till the king had given him one of his sons as an hostage. He then appeared, in presence of the king, in full parliament; and he excused himself, saying, that the constable had made an attempt on his person, and that it should not be imputed to him as a crime, nor as a failure in respect, if he had rather chosen to kill him than to be killed himself. At the same time, the two widow-queens, the one of Charles the Fair, and the other of Philip of Valois, of whom the first was the king of Navarre's aunt, and the second his sister, with Jane his wife, prostrated themselves before the king, begging him to pardon his son-in-law.

law. The king granted their request, declaring, that, if any one thenceforward should be guilty of so wicked an action, were it even the Dauphin, he would not suffer it to pass unpunished.

Mean-time, as he knew his son-in-law's turbulent and mischievous disposition, and was well informed of his correspondences in all quarters, contrary to his interest, he took the opportunity of a journey of his to Avignon, to seize and take into his possession the fortified places which he had in Normandy, under a pretext that he had left the kingdom without his permission. A few held out for the king of Navarre, and the greater part surrendered.

That prince immediately prepared for war, and caused soldiers to be privately enlisted in his remaining lands in Normandy. But Charles, the dauphin, made his peace, and brought him back to court. He did not continue there long in tranquillity. The commotions of the English obliged the king to ask money from the three estates, for carrying on the war. They complied with his desire, but the king of Navarre omitted nothing to hinder them from doing so. John, provoked at such behaviour, caused him to be arrested in the castle of Rouen, as he sat at table with the dauphin, and caused to be arrested with him John

John de Harcourt, his sole adviser, and the minister of his wicked designs. That lord was beheaded ; the king of Navarre was carefully guarded, and all his places seized.

Mean-time, the Duke of Gloucester set out from England, and landed in Normandy with an army. John marched against him with many more troops ; but he heard, at the same time, that Edward, the young prince of Wales, having left Aquitaine, was entering the kingdom to make a diversion, and was ravaging Berry. Though that prince had already taken many places, John made no doubt but he should easily retake them, and even that he should quite defeat the enemy's army, so much inferior to his own. He met it near Poitiers, and he thought he had already beat it, because he had 60,000 men against 8000.

Many advised him to destroy the enemy by famine, by cutting off their provisions on all sides, as was very easy for him to do ; but the French impatience could not submit to those delays. The cardinal of Perigord, the pope's legate, interposed several times to negotiate a peace. The prince of Wales proposed to restore all the places that he had taken, and all the prisoners that he had made during the war ; and promised, that, for seven years, England should

should undertake nothing against France. The king would not so much as hear those proposals, so certain did he reckon the victory, trusting in the multitude of his men. He pushed the matter much farther, and so despised the prince, that he proposed to him to surrender prisoner of war, with 100 of his principal knights.

The prince and the English, preferring death to so hard terms, and so scandalous an agreement, resolved either to die or conquer. Edward went from rank to rank, with wonderful spirit, and represented to his men, that victory was not procured by multitudes, but by courage and the protection of God. The French, however, full of a rash confidence, marched to the attack in a disorderly manner, as if they thought that they needed only to show themselves, to put their enemies to flight. But they were expected by men of intrepidity; for they had against them the English archers, who, undismayed at the great number of their enemies, made a terrible discharge where the ranks were thickest, and shot not an arrow without doing execution. The wing where the dauphin was, with some of the king's sons, was sore galled by those arrows, which made the governors of those princes take fright, and carry them off at the first. They ordered to march with

with them the spearmen, who were destined for their guard; so that the best of the troops retired without fighting. The panic spread every where, and that wing was put to flight with great slaughter. John Chandos, who directed the prince of Wales, turned then his whole effort against John's centre, and carried the young prince thither. There the battle was very obstinate; but the English, elated with success, pushed that squadron so vigorously, that they soon broke it.

The king, mean-time, defended himself valiantly, with a very few men, who had gathered about him; and they cried to him, on all hands, to surrender or he was a dead man. He, however, continued fighting. At last, knowing a French gentleman by his language, who cried to him louder than the rest, to surrender, he chose to yield to him.

This gentleman, who had left France for a murder of which he had been guilty, had joined the English. Philip, John's fourth son, also surrendered along with him, having never left him, and having even covered him with his body. Thus was King John taken, after doing the duty rather of a brave soldier than of a provident general.

John Chandos, seeing the victory secured,  
caused

caused a tent to be pitched for the prince, where he might take some repose, for he had been much heated in the battle. As he was asking accounts of the king of France, he saw a body of cavalry appearing, and word was brought him that it was the king himself whom they were bringing prisoner. He ran thither, and found him in greater danger than he had been in the action; because the bravest were contending who should have him, and dragging him along violently: some prisoners were even killed in his presence, because those who had taken them chose rather to put them to death, than that others should take them from them. As soon as the prince saw the king, he alighted from his horse, and bowed down profoundly before him, assuring him that he would be satisfied with the king his father, and that matters should be accommodated to his satisfaction.

The king, in that condition, never spoke a word, nor did any action unsuitable to his dignity and the greatness of his courage. The prince gave him, in the evening, a magnificent entertainment, and would never sit down at his table, notwithstanding all the king's intreaties that he should do so; but, seeing in his countenance much affliction, amidst a great deal of steadiness,

*Be comforted, said he to him, for the loss you have suffered. If you have not been successful in the battle, you have had the glory of being the most valiant combatant of your whole army, and not only your own men, but even ours, give this testimony to your valour.*

At these words a murmur arose in the assembly, applauding the prince. As soon as the accounts of that battle were carried to Paris, and through the rest of France, the consternation was very great. They saw a great battle lost, the flower of the nobility killed, the king taken, the kingdom in a deplorable condition, without forces within, and without succours without; the Dauphin, eighteen years of age, young, without advice and without experience, going, in all appearance, to be overwhelmed with the weight of public affairs.

In this extremity, the three estates were assembled, to deliberate concerning the government of the kingdom. Charles, the dauphin, was therein declared the king his father's lieutenant, and took the title of regent about a year after. For the happiness of France, he became more capable, and more resolute, than could have been expected from his early years. A council was appointed for him, composed of twelve persons of each order. Stephen

I Marcel,

Marcel, mayor of Paris, had the principal authority in it, on account of the cabal of the Parisians. He was so audacious as to propose to the dauphin to liberate the king of Navarre. That prince answered, that he could not liberate a man whom his father had imprisoned.

About the same time, Godfrey of Harcourt, who had raised confusions in Normandy, was beat, and chose rather to die than to surrender. Thus, that unhappy traitor to his country was punished for his treason, in the same province that he had given up to the depredations of the English. Mean-time, the king being transported into England, a truce was made till a peace could be concluded: but France, being somewhat in quiet against foreign power, was torn, and almost ruined by intestine dissensions.

The power being weak and divided, and the laws without force, every place was filled with murders and robberies. Robbers, not satisfied with robbing on the highways, flocked together in little armies to besiege castles, which they took and pillaged; so that there was no safety in one's own house. The mayor of Paris, *prevot des marchands*, came and complained to the dauphin, that those disorders were not remedied; and, as he spoke insolently, the

dauphin said to him, that he could not remedy them, having neither armies nor finances, and such should provide against them who had these in their power. This prince meant the Parisians, who, in fact, made themselves masters of every thing.

The conversation turning hot on both sides, the furious Parisians fell into such a passion, as to kill, at the dauphin's side, three of his principal counsellors, so that the blood spurted out on his very robe. The matter went so far, that, to save his person, he was obliged to put on his head a hood, half red and half white, which was in those days the mark of the faction.

Though the Parisian party became every day stronger, the mayor thought that party would soon fall, if he did not give it a head. So he found means to liberate the king of Navarre, by false tokens, and forging an order from the dauphin. As soon as he was at liberty, he came to Paris. As he was eloquent, factious, and popular, he engaged all the populace by the seditious harangue which he made in the open market-place, in presence of the dauphin, complaining of the injustices done to him, and boasting of his extraordinary zeal for the kingdom of France, for which, he said, he wished to die; but the crafty knave had other intentions.

About

About the same time, there arose about Beauvais a faction called the *Jacques*, James's, or the *Jacquerie*, fraternity of James's, who pillaged, violated, and massacred every where with unheard-of cruelty. They were in number more than 100,000, not knowing, for most part, what they wanted, and blindly following a troop of about 100 men, who had assembled at first purposely to exterminate the nobility. The king of Navarre assisted greatly in repressing and dissipating that mad rabble, of whom he defeated a great number. Mean-time, as his interest was every day increased in Paris, the dauphin did not think himself safe there; so he left that city with a resolution to besiege it. The other cities of the kingdom joined him, not being able to endure that the Parisians should govern the whole kingdom. The dauphin, with that assistance, took post at Charenton and St Maur, and seized the passages of the two rivers, to starve the Parisians. The king of Navarre having placed himself at St Denys, the country was then ravaged on both the sides. In order to discredit that king in the minds of the Parisians, the dauphin engaged him in a conference with him; and, from that time, they suspected them to be in a good understanding together. At last peace was concluded by the mediation of the archbi-

shop of Sens. By that peace, it was agreed to deliver up to the dauphin the mayor of Paris, and twelve burghers, to be punished as he pleased.

Stephen Marcel, being informed of this treaty, resolved to kill in Paris all such as were not of his own cabal. But he was prevented by one John Maillard, head of the dauphin's party, who killed him near the gate St Antoine, and gave so good an account to the people of that action, that all sent deputations of submission to the dauphin. Afterward, on the most humble request of all the people of Paris, that prince came there to reside.

Whilst he was making his entry, he perceived a seditious burgher endeavouring to stir up the people against him. Far from being in a passion, he stopped those of his retinue who were going sword in hand to that madman, and said no more to him, but, that the people would not believe him. The king of Navarre, enraged that the mayor of Paris had been killed, who was entirely in his interest, soon renewed the war, and raised troops with the money which the Parisians had intrusted to his keeping while he was at St Denys; but the dauphin, without loss of time, besieged Melun, into which the king of Navarre had thrown his best troops, with the three queens,

queens, his sister, his aunt, and his wife ; and, seeing that the dauphin was laying close siege to that place, and straitening it, he made a peace by promising to be submissive to him.

Mean-time, a treaty was carrying on in England for a peace, and for John's liberation. It was proposed to him, to hold the kingdom of France, as a fief, in vassalage, of the king of England ; he answered, that he chose rather to die, than to accept so scandalous a condition ; and he said this so undauntedly, that it durst not any more be proposed to him. But a privy council was held, at which were present only the two kings, the prince of Wales, and James de Bourbon constable of France. John indeed made a peace there ; but he yielded to the English so many provinces, that all France was terrified, when the accounts of it were brought.

The dauphin was very much embarrassed, to determine whether or not he should accept those conditions. On the one hand, he wished to see his father again ; on the other, he was sensible, that, if he executed that treaty, the kingdom would be lost, and the king himself dishonoured, for having preferred a too speedy liberation to his own glory, and the safety of the state, for which he had not been afraid to expose his

his own life. At last, he resolved to refuse the conditions, and to hope, in time, to find opportunities to rescue the king in a more honourable way. John, who was wearied of his confinement, took this very much amiss, and was angry with his son, who had, said he, allowed himself to be carried off by the bad adyice of the king of Navarre. Edward caused him to be closer confined than before, and resolved to pass over himself into France with a strong army. He came to Calais, ravaged Picardy, and laid siege to Rheims, which he was forced to raise; but he failed not to pillage Champagne and the isle of France, and to take up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, two leagues from Paris. The dauphin would never march out to fight him; he was sensible, that, by risking a battle, he hazarded the whole state. That prince, therefore, only contrived to distress the enemy's army, by cutting off their provisions as much as he could, and by waiting for an opportunity to do something more effectual.

He sent in the mean time ambassadors to treat of a peace. The duke of Lancaster earnestly advised the king of England to that measure. He represented to him, that he had a great army to support in an enemy's country, without being possessed of any

any town, and that if the French recovered their courage, he should lose more in one day than he had gained in twenty years. Edward would never yield to those reasons, imagining himself already king of France; but at last the dauphin's ambassadors being come to treat with him as usual, when he was still continuing always haughty and inflexible, an unforeseen accident made him change his resolution.

There arose all of a sudden a furious storm, with terrible thunder and lightning, and so great darkness that they could not know each other. Edward terrified, took that for a warning from heaven, which condemned his inflexibility; and the duke of Lancaster coming in, took his opportunity so seasonably, that he got him at last to resolve upon a peace. It was concluded on condition that the king of France should yield to the king of England the town of Calais, with the county of Ponthieu, Poitou, Saintonge, Rochelle and its dependencies, Perigord, the Limosin, Quercy, the Angoumois, Agenois, and Bigorre, and that he should give up their jurisdictions, as well as that of Aquitaine.

The king of England yielded on his side the claim that he had to the kingdom of France, with Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and the sovereignty of Flanders, which

which he had disputed. That treaty however was not to be entirely completed till the two kings should have sent to Bruges, at a certain day fixed, the deeds of their reciprocal renunciation, a condition which was not executed, and till that day king John promised not to use over the provinces yielded, his right of sovereignty which he always reserved to himself. Besides that three millions of gold franks were promised for the king's liberation, and the two kings submitted to the judgment of the Roman church for the execution of the peace. This is what was concluded at Bretigny, a hamlet situated near Chartres en Beauce.

Some time after the kings in person confirmed the peace, by taking an oath on the gospels, and on the consecrated elements. They then passed over to Calais, where they treated to no purpose about the settlement of Brittany. The king was liberated at last, leaving for hostages Philip of Orleans his brother, and Louis of Anjou his son, with many lords and burghers of the principal towns. The lords whom the king wanted to subject to the English, begged him not to give them over to another master, and said, he could not do so. The inhabitants of Rochelle petitioned him to keep them, and wrote him, that if indeed they were forced outwardly to be English, they

they would be French in their hearts, and would never give up their native country. He answered them all, that he would not break his word ; that they were to obey, and be faithful to their new masters.

When expedients were proposed to him for breaking the treaty which he had made out of necessity in his confinement, he made this beautiful answer, *That if truth and honesty were lost among all the rest of mankind, they ought to be found again in the mouth and behaviour of kings.* His first object, after his return, was to rid the kingdom of the great bands of robbers who were plundering it. The disbanded soldiers flocked together, and all the debatished and idle fellows joined them in crowds to plunder. The king ordered to march against them James of Bourbon constable of France, who being unwarily entangled in some strait places, was defeated and killed in a great battle near Lyons. Those robbers becoming insolent by that victory, took Pont-Saint-Esprit, and pillaged as far as the gates of Avignon.

The king went thither some time after to visit Pope Urban V. and he resolved to take the cross, either because he wanted to fulfil what Philip his father had promised, or because he meant in that way to put out of the kingdom the soldiers who were plundering

dering every where. He sent to invite the king of England to this crusade, but that prince excused himself on account of his great age. John took a resolution to return into England. Various motives for that voyage are related; the most certain is, that the duke of Anjou, one of the hostages, having escaped out of England, the king his father wanted to show, that he was not accessory to the escape and levity of that young prince.

Before his departure, the king settled the dauphin regent of the kingdom. He gave the duchy of Burgundy to Philip his younger son, for the service he had done him at the battle of Poitiers, and in his confinement. Having thus disposed things, he set out, and died at London a short time after, leaving the care of restoring the kingdom to a son, whose wisdom had already shown itself in several circumstances.

## B O O K VIII.

CHARLES V. surnamed LE SAGE,  
the Wise.

**S**carce had king John left France when the king of Navarre began to raise insurrections in Normandy, but he had not made

made sufficient preparations to resist the strength or wisdom of Charles; for this prince took first the most considerable places next France, that is to say, Mante and Meulan, situated on the river Seine; then he set out for Rheims to get himself crowned there.

He gave Bertrand du Guesclin the command of the troops who marched against the Navarrois, (the subjects of Navarre). As soon as the French general came near the enemy, he made a shew of being afraid in order to draw them to a battle, and retired in good order before them, having always on the wings some people to observe their motions. Immediately the Gascons set up a shout, that the French were flying, and marched up to attack them in a disorderly manner. Then Bertrand du Guesclin halted his troops, and ordered to face about against them. The Captal de Buch, who commanded the enemy's army, put them in order of battle the best way he could, and opened his front that the archers might charge. The French, after receiving that discharge, fell on vigorously; the fight was very obstinate, and lasted long; at last the French made so strong an effort that the Gascons could not stand it.

Thirty French, seeing the enemy give way, singled out the Captal; they broke

through the squadrons, and having pushed up to him, dismounted him, and carried him off prisoner. The Gascons run in vain to rescue their general, they were repulsed. The Capital's standard was taken, torn, and thrown on the ground. The Gascons were discouraged and betook themselves to flight, and almost all the Navarrois were killed. Such was the success of the battle of Cucherel, which was followed some time after by a peace between the two kings.

Bertrand du Guesclin was not so fortunate at Auray, where the inhabitants of Blois and Montfort (les Blesois and les Montfortiens) fought with all their forces ; the Blesois were beat, the count de Blois killed, du Guesclin himself made prisoner, so that John de Montfort remained master of the duchy of Brittany, and no body contested it with him. The barons of Brittany obtained from the king an acknowledgment of him as their duke, on condition of doing homage to him as superior ; to which that wise king consented, for fear that Montfort should acknowledge England. Bertrand du Guesclin having paid his ransom, went into Spain, and, in order to rid his country of the robbers, of whom we have already said so much, he carried several companies to the assistance of Henry de Trastamare, who had been made king of Castille.

Peter,

Peter, an impious and inhuman prince, had committed unheard-of cruelties, which had got him the surname of Cruel. He had even put to death his wife Blanche de Bourbon. Pope Urban V. on the complaints of his subjects, deprived him of his kingdom, and gave it to Henry his bastard-brother. It was to this Henry that Bertrand du Guesclin carried the French, and John de Bourbon count de la Marche put himself at their head, in order to avenge the death of his cousin. They joined the king of Arragon, who was very glad to have that opportunity of retaking, with that assistance, some places which the king of Castille had taken from him. They all together attacked Peter, who at first derided them, but being deserted by his men, he was forced to flee, and took refuge with the prince of Wales, who then resided at Bourdeaux, because the king his father had given him the duchy of Aquitaine.

The prince doubted whether he should receive him under his protection, on account of his cruelties. He resolved at last to restore him to his throne, not for his sake, but to avenge royal majesty, which had been violated in his person. He would not, however, undertake that affair without the permission of the king his father. After receiving his orders, he employed all,

even to his gold and silver plate, for raising men. He marched, at the same time, through the kingdom of Navarre with the king's consent. Bertrand du Guesclin, whom king Henry had made constable of Castille, advised him not to fight a battle, but to make himself master only of the streights and passes through which his country must be entered. The king would not hearken to so good advice, and marched to meet the prince of Wales near Navarrette, where was fought a bloody battle, at the beginning of which the prince pronounced this prayer aloud; *True God, Father of Jesus Christ, who hast created me, thou seest that I fight to restore to his dominion, a king shamefully expelled, grant me then the victory in so just a cause.* His prayers were heard, and he obtained a complete victory. The jealousy of the Spaniards, who never would support the French, was the loss of the battle, and every body thought that if they had done like du Guesclin and his men, they should have defeated the enemy.

After this advantage, Peter said to the prince, that he owed every thing to his valour; but the prince reminded him to turn his heart to God, because from thence all his victories came; Bertrand du Guesculin was taken, and Henry retired into Arragon:

Peter

Peter wanted to put all the prisoners to death, and the prince had difficulty to hinder him from doing so. He returned to Bourdeaux very much dissatisfied that the king of Castille had not kept the promises which he had given him. His health was also much impaired by the excessive heat of Spain.

Such is the condition of human affairs : that expedition where he acquired so much glory, occasioned his death, and never after that time did he enjoy health. Du Guesclin, who was his prisoner, got out of his hands by address and wit. The prince spoke to him often very familiarly, and asked him one day, how he liked his confinement ? He told him, he liked it very well, but that all France said, he would not release him, because he was afraid of him. The prince was piqued, and told him, that to show how little he feared him, he was ready to dismiss him on paying 100,000 franks. He did not think perhaps that he could pay so great a sum ; but du Guesclin took the prince at his word, and offered to give it.

The prince's counsellors having remonstrated to him, that it was not proper to release a prisoner of that importance in the present conjunctures ; he repented of having given his promise so easily, but he

would never retract it, and du Guesclin was set at liberty. Immediately he went to Henry, who was, as we have said, with the king of Arragon, and they all together renewed the war. Peter continued his cruelties, and the people were rising up against him in all quarters. Even the city of Burgos, which was the capital of Castille, submitted to Henry. Bertrand, informed of Peter's march, resolved to surprise him. This march, though long, he performed so quickly, that Peter's men thinking him still very far off, he fell on them all of a sudden, and defeated them. Peter was forced to take refuge in a castle where he was taken; and when his brother came to visit him, he wanted to kill him. Henry drawing his sword, the two brothers fought, and Peter himself was killed. In this manner do some authors relate his death.

Whilst those things were doing in Spain, the prince of Wales, to support the excessive expense of the war and of his household, loaded Aquitaine with new taxes, which exasperated every one against him. Besides, the nobility was irritated because they had no share in public employments, which were all given to the English, whose haughty and proud dominion neither they nor the common people could bear. These reasons obliged them to make their complaint

plaint to Charles, and to beg him, as their sovereign lord, to put a stop to the exactions which the prince made upon them. They added, that the English having been guilty of so many infractions of the peace of Bretigny, he was not bound to observe it.

Charles resolved not to declare himself till he had made the necessary preparations, answered them, that indeed the prince was in the wrong, but that he wanted not to break the peace. Mean-time he did not discourage them ; on the contrary, he gave them great hopes, and entertained their deputies honourably at Paris. When he perceived every thing in readiness, and that the Gascons were so far engaged as to tell him, that, if he did not speedily do them justice, they would seek it by other methods, he sent and cited the prince of Wales to the court of peers. That prince answered, that he should appear there as he did at Poitiers.

Charles, however, continued to negotiate with Edward, and made him new proposals ; then, all at once, in a full parliament, he declared the king of England and the prince guilty of disobedience, and confiscated the lands which they had in France. At the same time, he sent into England, to declare war against Edward by a single servant, and caused a manifesto to be published,

blished, explaining the reasons of that rupture; which were, that the English had first broke the peace, because they had not yet restored the places stipulated by treaties, and that they had always carried on an open war against France, committing various acts of hostility.

Edward was much surprised, when he saw war declared against him, and in so slighting a manner too; but he was much more so, when he heard that Abbeville and the whole county of Ponthieu had submitted to Charles. The king, mean-time, ordered fasts and public prayers through the whole kingdom, to beseech God to have pity on France, which was so long afflicted. He walked on foot at the processions, and had preachers to extol the justice of his cause, particularly on the frontiers of the countries held by the English. Those sermons had two good effects; the one, that the provinces under the king's own government bore more patiently the expense of the war, being persuaded that it was just; the other, that the countries under the English government were disposed, by that means, to return to the French.

In fact, the archbishop of Toulouse preached to so good purpose, that Cahors surrendered to John duke of Berry, Charles's brother. He had also sent du Guesclin into

into Germany, who engaged several princes of the empire in his party. In order to hinder the count de Hainault from engaging with the English, he gained his seneschal, who had great interest with him, hoping, by that means, he might dispose of the count. Edward, on his side, forgot nothing to strengthen his party, and had prevailed with Louis earl of Flanders to give his only daughter and heiress to his second son: Charles, who omitted nothing to cross that marriage, had so great influence with the pope, that he determined him to refuse the dispensation necessary for contracting that alliance, because there was a relation between the parties: afterward he found means to get that princess married to his own brother Philip duke of Burgundy.

After those settlements, Charles carried on the war vigorously and successfully. The English were much weakened by the loss of John Chandos, a great general, who, foreseeing that those taxes would make all Aquitaine rebel, had done all in his power to hinder the prince to impose them. When he saw his counsels were not followed, he retired from court. Nevertheless, seeing the prince distressed with a considerable war, he came back and resumed the command of the troops: he applied to this the more carefully, that the prince was seized with

a dropsy, and in no condition to command them himself.

That general, being informed that the French were at the bridge of Lansac, marched up to them very contemptuously, and made no doubt but he should beat them as he had always done. He came up, crying that he was Chandos, persuaded that his name alone would strike them with terror. At the same time, as the ground was wet and slippery, by reason of the dew, and he fought on foot, he entangled himself in his coat, which came down to the ground, and made a false step: at that moment a French esquire, named James de St Martin, gave him a stroke in the face, which made him fall, and of which he died some hours after without speaking.

Charles, in order to make a diversion, put to sea a great fleet, with which he intended to invade England. That design was stopped by the arrival of the Duke of Lancaster, who landed at Calais with a great body of troops, and whom it was necessary to oppose. Philip duke of Burgundy kept him long besieged, in places from whence he could not escape; and, if he had not been impatient, he might have been able to destroy that army. At the end of the campaign, the king's finances being exhausted, both by the expense of the war and

and by the immense sums that had been necessarily given to his allies, he called the three estates, to ask new subsidies. They were willingly paid, because it was known that it was only to supply the urgent necessities of the state ; and, besides, the finances were so wisely managed and administered, that no man regretted what he gave for the public good.

As soon as the troops could be brought to the field, the king held a council with his three brothers. It was resolved, that the duke of Anjou should attack Aquitaine on the side of Languedoc, while the Duke of Berry should enter it on the side of Auvergne. The Duke of Anjou, whom du Guesclin had joined, took several considerable places. The duke of Berry marched straight to Limoges, where the prince of Wales was, so that he was forced to leave that city. It was delivered to the French by the bishop, who was the prince's intimate friend. To be avenged of that perfidy, he orderd his army to march to Limoges, with a resolution to punish the bishop and the inhabitants ; and, sick as he was, he caused himself to be carried to the siege. He ordered neither works, nor attack, nor skirmish ; he ordered only to mine a great way under the wall, which the besieged contermined on their side ; but all their

their efforts were vain. The prince's miners were so successful, that their mine was ready to play ; at last it was fired, and made a great breach in the wall, through which the city was taken by assault. All were put to the sword without distinction, men, women, and children. The bishop himself was taken, but he was given up to the pope, who demanded him.

In the interval between the two sieges of Limoges, Charles brought Bertrand du Guesclin ; and Moreau de Fienne, constable of France, having demitted that office, the king gave it to du Guesclin : he refused it long, saying it did not belong to so mean a gentleman as him to command princes of the blood, and even kings brothers. But Charles ordered him to accept it ; and, at the same time, he sent him to pursue the duke of Lancaster's army, which had already marched into Aquitaine ; he had only left 30,000 men, under the command of Canolle, a famous English general.

Though that army ravaged all the country, to the very gates of Paris, Charles forbade du Guesclin to hazard a battle. His orders were only to follow the English close, and to take his own opportunity to harass them, without risking any thing. In execution of those orders, the constable was always

always at that general's heels, sometimes beating up his quarters, sometimes falling on the rear-guard and on the baggage, especially in defiles and passages of rivers, and cutting off his provisions on all sides. In fine, he was so skilful in taking advantage of the ground, that he destroyed almost all that army.

Mean-time, the prince finding himself reduced to extremity by his dropsy, thought his native air might afford some ease in his distemper; and, with that view, caused himself to be carried over to England, and left the government of Guienne to the duke of Lancaster, his brother. Affairs began more and more to decline. The duke of Lancaster did not remain long in the country; for, having married Constance, eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, he took the title of king of Castille, and turned all his thoughts on that side. That was the cause that the Castillians joined with France against England.

Henry fitted out a great fleet, and gave the command of it to Yvan of Wales. This Yvan was son of the person to whom the principality of Wales belonged, which Edward had taken from him with his life. He carried the fleet to the coast of Rochelle, against Pembroke, who commanded the English fleet. There a great battle was

fought, during which the governor of Rochelle excited the inhabitants to go and assist the English fleet; but they would not obey him. That fleet, being surrounded on all sides, was almost wholly sunk, and Pembroke himself was taken.

Mean-time, the constable was making great progress in Gascony and Poitou. He took St Severe on a capitulation, and Poitiers by correspondence; afterward, Saintes, Angouleme, St Jean d'Angely, and all the rest of that country, surrendered to him. Rochelle was desirous of doing the same, but the castle was an impediment. The mayor, whose inclination was French, bethought himself of forging a letter from the king of England, with an order to the captain to make a general review of the soldiers of the castle, with the burghers of the town. That captain, who could not read, seeing the prince's zeal, set about obeying him; but, as soon as he had brought the soldiers out of the garrison, the burghers, commanded by the mayor, made themselves masters of the castle.

At the same time, they sent dispatches to Charles, to inform him that they were ready to submit to him, provided he would be pleased to preserve their privileges, and demolish the castle. The king easily granted the conditions, and so Rochelle returned to

to the government of France, as it had always been desirous to do. When those news were carried to England, Edward was much moved, and said, in surprise, that never had king made fewer preparations for war, yet never had king done so great things.

In fact, Charles's health, which was always weak, incapacitated him for bearing all the fatigues of war. It is said, his infirmities were occasioned by his having been poisoned in his youth by the king of Navarre. But he laboured much in his council, both in the concerns of the war and of justice, which he administered, and caused to be administered exactly through all his kingdom. He was liberal and charitable chiefly to the nobility, and bestowed in private considerable sums, both to poor gentlemen and ladies, who had no marriage-portions. He was a patron of men of letters; and, amidst so many wars, he made the sciences flourish, as in profound peace, as much as that age could permit. He took a particular pleasure in hearing Nicolas Oresme bishop of Lisieux, a man famous in his time, who had been his own preceptor, and from whom he had learned the principles of piety and literature.

All the time he had to spare from business he bestowed on reading, chiefly the

holy scriptures. There is even extant a Bible which he caused to be translated into French, because certain heretics, who were called the Vaudois or Waldenses, had got it translated after their fashion. Thus, amidst the affairs of war, he applied to the sciences and fine arts. He managed his family with great prudence and good nature; he often spoke civilly to men of probity and virtue, he gained, both by his speeches and his bounties, such as had talents. In fine, in all his actions, there visibly appeared great magnificence and great order; so that his wisdom was every where renowned.

It was surprising to see him regain so quickly, without going out of his closet, what his predecessors had lost with their arms in their hands. To stop these proceedings, Edward equipped a great fleet, and resolved to go over to France, notwithstanding his great age: but the winds were so contrary that he could never land. Meantime, the constable took Thouars; and, gaining, near Niort, the battle of Siret against the English, he completed the conquest of all Poitou.

Upon Edward's return to England, the prince of Wales, who perceived himself declining, and thought he shculd die first, asked him to have his son Richard declared heir of the kingdom: that was proposed

to the parliament, who gave their consent. The duke of Brittany, jealous of the successes of France, joined England, and put English garrisons in some of his places, to intimidate his subjects. As soon as Charles had intelligence of this, he sent the constable into that country.

When the barons and towns perceived that the duke was guilty of a manifest breach of fidelity, they refused to obey him. Thus, deserted by his own subjects, he was forced to take refuge in England. The constable was received in almost all the fortified towns. Hennebon, esteemed impregnable, was forced. Nantes surrendered, on condition of being restored to the duke, when he should receive the king's pardon. Brest capitulated, on condition that, if succours arrived within a certain time, the capitulation should be null. The succours arriving, that place continued to belong to the duke of Brittany.

Much about this time, Charles made a law that the kings should be anointed, crowned, and declared major, at the age of fourteen years, which has been observed ever since.

Edward wanted to carry over again to France the fleet that had been beat back by the winds, and designed to command it in person; but, finding himself too weak,

gave the command of it to the duke of Lancaster. The duke, having landed his army, began to ravage all the plain country, as the English, at that time, were accustomed to do. Charles sent also, according to his custom, some companies of cavalry, to follow close behind him, with orders not to fight, but to harass and annoy him as much as possible. This was so punctually executed, that Lancaster, who had begun his march with an army of 30,000 men, scarce carried 6000 to Bourdeaux.

The duke of Anjou, in the mean-time, took many places in Guienne, and subdued all the country. His conquests were stopped by the truce which Gregory XI. got made between France and England, till a peace could be concluded. The prince of Wales died at London, and his father, overwhelmed with labour and sorrow, lived not long after. Richard II: then but a child, was acknowledged as king; and the duke of Lancaster his uncle as regent. Those who were treating about the peace, separated without doing any thing, because Charles demanded the demolition of Calais, which the English could never be persuaded to grant, for any consideration whatever, though the French paid dear for that town, by those which they restored them in great numbers.

Charles

Charles made use of the truce to begin the war again with more vigour. He had five armies; of which the first was to act in Artois, the second on the side of Bourges, the third in Guienne, the fourth in Brittany. He reserved the fifth for himself, to join those who should have most need of assistance. Besides that, he took great care to have the advantage at sea. The earl of Salisbury hindered the fleet sent to invade England from doing any thing considerable there.

The land-armies succeeded better: but those happy successes had like to have been disturbed by an attempt against Charles's life. When the king of Navarre sent his three sons to the court of France, he had caused them to be accompanied by one of his chamberlains, called James de Rue, who had orders to poison the king. He was discovered, and condemned to be beheaded, with Peter du Tertre, the king of Navarre's secretary, who was also convicted of that detestable design. The king sent an army into Normandy, which took all the king of Navarre's fortified towns, except Cherburg, which the king of Navarre had delivered up to the English, who brought in there provisions and warlike stores.

He ordered also the duke of Anjou to seize Montpellier, which he had given to  
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the king of Navarre in exchange for some of his fortified towns. The inhabitants had, at first, submitted ; but, afterward rebelling, they exposed themselves to a rigorous chastisement, which was, however, mitigated by the duke of Anjou, at the pope's request. That prince took also Borgerac from the English, after gaining a battle at Aimet, where almost all the barons of Gascony, of the English party, were taken. He carried by assault the town of Duras; to encourage his troops, he had promised 500 franks to the first who should enter the place. All the towns on the Dordonne and on the Garonne surrendered, so that the English had almost none remaining but Bayonne and Bourdeaux. The divisions in England, during the king's minority, greatly facilitated Charles's conquests. This prince, though very active in taking advantage of conjunctures, never, however, lost sight of the rules of justice, and of the usual changes of human affairs. He was always inclined to make peace on equitable conditions ; but the English, at that time, could neither make war, nor treat of peace properly and seasonably.

Whilst the duke of Anjou was making great preparations for besieging Bourdeaux, Charles ordered Bayonne to be besieged in the winter-time by the Castillians. A dis-  
temper

temper breaking out in their army, they were obliged to raise the siege. In the heat of the war, the emperor Charles IV. came into France, both to negotiate a peace between the two crowns at war, and to procure the empire to his son Wenceslaus by the interest of France. He was magnificently received, but without giving him any mark of sovereignty. He had not a canopy carried over him when he made his entry into the towns; he was not permitted to enter them on a white horse, because that was reckoned a mark of a sovereign; and care was even taken expressly to show, in the harangues made to him, that it was by the king's command that those honours were paid him.

When he arrived at Paris, the king went to meet him, accompanied by the princes of the blood; the king entered the city again riding on a white horse, between the emperor and his son the king of the Romans. The emperor, in return for the kind entertainment that he received, created the dauphin vicar of the empire in all the kingdom of Arles, of which Dauphiné was a part. Since that time the emperors exercised no power over Dauphiné, or over Provence, in title of emperors and kings of Arles.

There happened at that time a deplorable

rable schism, which lasted about forty years. Gregory XI. after having held for some time his see at Avignon, as his predecessors had done, thought it necessary that it should be returned to Rome, where St Peter had at first established it. The duke of Anjou, sent by Charles to divert him from that design, could not prevail with him. He arrived at Rome, where he was received with incredible joy, and the see was restored seventy-one years after its removal from that city.

The pope died there some years after. The cardinals, who were almost all French, assembled in the conclave. The Romans apprehensive, that, if they made a Frenchman pope, he might of new transfer the see to Avignon, surrounded the place where they were assembled, and cried to them with many menaces, to elect an Italian pope; if not, they would never acknowledge him. Struck with these threatenings, they elected the archbishop of Barri, who took the name of Urban VI.; but they took the time when he was gone to Tivoli, and retired to Fondi, a place which Jane queen of Naples had given them, where they made another election, saying, that they had elected Pope Urban only by force, and till they could make a free election of another. They elected the cardinal

of

of Geneva, bishop of Cambray, who was called Clement VII.

The two popes for some time made war on each other in Italy. Urban's party being the strongest, Clement was forced to return to Avignon. He was there visited by the duke of Anjou, to whom he gave the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, which Jane II. had yielded to that prince. Charles, in the mean time, was continuing the war against the English, with his accustomed vigour. In order to attack them in their island, he had instigated the Scots, who had gained some advantages over them with his assistance. He sent an ambassador to the king of Scotland, in order to concert with him how he might get a great army conveyed into the island by one of his ports.

In that ambassador's passage through Flanders, the earl caused him to be arrested, and the duke of Brittany, who had retired into that country, spoke in his presence very contumeliously of all the king's council. The ambassador, on his return, complained of this to Charles, who took it much amiss that the earl of Flanders had been so audacious as to harbour one of his enemies in his territories. He sent him a strict order to put him out of his dominions. Charles was a very absolute prince, and knew

knew how to enforce obedience. The earl however hesitated whether he should comply with the king's orders; but the duke, not to be the occasion of a war, retired of himself to king Richard, by whom he was very kindly received. He had easily perceived that the earl would not be able to give him great assistance, on account of the troubles in his country. They had been occasioned by the hatred of the two families in Ghent, the head of one of which was John Lion, and of the other Giselbert Matthieu.

These two families had ever hated each other, and though they seemed to live upon good terms, they were harbouring an irreconcileable enmity. John Lion was a man bold and artful, whom the earl had made use of to rid him of a man who had displeased him, and afterward the earl had been very kind to him. He had even got him named master of the boatmen of Ghent, who is called dean of all the offices of the burghers, the one which gave greatest authority among the populace. Giselbert Matthieu immediately contrived a plot to dispossess him, and set himself in his place.

To succeed in this, he advised the earl to lay a tax on the boats, giving him to understand that he would draw a great profit from it, without burdening the people, because

because none but strangers would pay the tax ; that besides, every thing depended on John Lion, the earl's creature, and that if he pleased, there would be no difficulty. The earl consenting to it, made known his pleasure to John Lion, who thought the matter difficult ; but he promised to propose it, and to serve the earl in it. Giselbert underhand raised difficulties, by means of his brothers and those of his cabal. Mean-time he got it insinuated to the earl, that John Lion did not act honestly, and that if he were in Lion's place, the matter should be easily ended. He gained the earl's counsellors, and managed so dexterously, that that prince dispossessed John Lion, and gave the other his employment.

Giselbert then put a stop to the difficulties which he and his brothers had raised. John Lion retired full of implacable wrath ; he thought it best however to dissemble till an opportunity should offer to show it. One of Matthieu's brothers was very suspicious of this, and proposed to him to rid himself of so dangerous an enemy. Matthieu abhorred that crime, and said, that a man must not be killed who was not condemned. Mean-time the inhabitants of Bruges having undertaken to make a canal, which they intended should run from the river Lys to their town, in order to facilitate the

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transportation of merchandise, those of Ghent were much displeased at it, because that greatly diminished their commerce. They began to regret John Lion, and to say, that were he still in office, he would greatly humble the pride of the people of Bruges. They sent to intreat him to come and join them; but the crafty fellow made a show of refusing, in order to be the more pressed.

At last he consented, but on condition that the old faction of the White-hoods should be restored, and that he should be put at their head. This was no sooner done, than the inhabitants of Bruges gave up their scheme. He began to speak of the earl very artfully; he said that he was an excellent prince, whose favour it was proper to gain by all kind of services; that indeed he was ill-advised, and favoured those of Bruges, but that a deputation must be sent to him, to demand a release from the tax, preservation of their privileges, and restitution of the prisoners that his bailiff retained, against the laws of the country.

John Lion artfully got Giselbert Matthieu put at the head of the deputation, in order to discredit him with the earl, should he speak for the interest of the people, and with the people, should he speak for the interest

interest of the earl. Giselbert persuaded the earl to grant the inhabitants of Ghent all their demands, provided only the White-hoods were taken off. John Lion easily perceived that he was aimed at, and kept himself on his guard. He insinuated to the people, by his emissaries, that by ruining the White-hoods they would destroy their privileges, which had only been preserved by means of that faction.

Mean-time the bailiff arrived, followed by some soldiers, with orders to take John Lion even in his own house. He marched first to the public market place, in order to assemble there the burghers of his party under the earl's standard. The mutineers went straight to him, and chusing him out among all his men, they killed him without hurting any other person. They tore the standard in pieces, and plundered the equipages of the Matthieus. The rich burghers contrived a deputation to the earl, to ask his pardon, and John Lion was the first to say he must be appeased.

The earl was ready to pardon them when John Lion reviewed the White-hoods, whom he found to the number of 10,000 able to bear arms. When he saw them assembled, he showed them as they passed the earl's pleasure-house, very near the town, and told them, that the earl was getting that

castle fortified, and that it would one day be troublesome to the town of Ghent. No more was necessary to make them go thither and plunder the house. At the time they were there, all at once it was perceived to take fire. John Lion, who had given orders to kindle it, appeared more surprised than the rest; but in the mean time he felt a secret joy at having engaged more than ever the mutineers in the rebellion, by the new crime which they had just committed, and at rendering matters irreconcileable.

These news being brought to the earl, he would see the deputies no more, and but for their pass would have ordered their heads to be cut off. Immediately the war began, and the earl marched against the inhabitants of Ghent. John Lion prepared them for a defence, and advised them to bring over those of Bruges to their party. Deputies were sent them thither; to whom those of Bruges answered, that they should hold a council on their proposal; and, in the mean time, they shut their gates. John Lion, on these news, said, that they must not get time to consider. He went thither himself, followed by the inhabitants of Ghent in arms; and those of Bruges being surprised, were forced to receive them. He made

made himself master of the market, and of the public squares.

Every thing was going well for the inhabitants of Ghent, and John Lion had even prepared a magnificent supper for the ladies of the town; but in the middle of the entertainment, as he was drinking very chearfully, he felt himself suddenly struck; all at once he was perceived to swell, and a few hours after he died. There were many who believed he had been poisoned. The inhabitants of Ghent, without losing courage, chose in his place four captains, under whose command they marched to attack the town of Ypres; and easily took it, by availing themselves of the divisions then subsisting between the nobility and the corporations. They then besieged Oudenarde and Terremonde, where the earl was, but took neither of them.

The duke of Burgundy got a peace made, and obtained from his father-in-law a pardon for the inhabitants of Ghent, who came immediately to invite him back to their town. That prince consented, and the day after his entry he appeared at a window, with a velvet cushion before him, and harangued them. He was heard with great attention, till he came to speak of the White-hoods, and said, it was necessary entirely to destroy that faction, so long re-

pressed, which John Lion alone had got revived. At these words they began to laugh, in an insulting manner; they derided the earl openly, and he was forced to leave Ghent more irritated than ever. The war was renewed, and the inhabitants of Ghent took Oudenarde, and rased its walls. The earl, on taking it again, rebuilt them, and he ordered one of the Ghent captains to be beheaded, whom he had taken prisoner.

As he appeared intent to besiege Ghent, the inhabitants sent to demand the king's protection. He favoured them privately, because he distrusted the earl, and was not displeased that he should have business at home, for fear he should assist the duke of Brittany, with whom the king was at war. As the duke had received into his town the enemies of the state, the king had him declared a rebel by the parliament, and confiscated Brittany.

The Britons, faithful to the king, provided it were under the government of their own princes, whom they always wanted to preserve, seeing Charles's design, which was to make himself absolute master of that duchy, joined the duke. The king gained however a part of the nobility, and Nantes always remained faithful to him.

At

At the beginning of the war with Brittany, Bertrand du Guesclin died, very much regretted by the king. That prince ordered him to be buried at the foot of a tomb which he had bespoke for himself at St Denys, that he might have a lasting monument of the valour, prudence, and fidelity of so great a man, as well as of the immortal services which he had done to the state, and likewise to show to posterity the love that his prince had for him. Meantime the earl of Buckingham had entered France with a great army, and the king gave the same orders for pursuing him as he had always done on like occasions. So though the earl plundered the plain country, almost his whole army was destroyed, and its loss was completed at the siege of Nantes.

During that siege, the king perceived that a fistula, with which he was afflicted, had dried up. That was a certain token of approaching death, and a skilful physician had told him so. That physician had attended him in his younger years in an unknown distemper, which made his hair and his nails fall off. He was thought to be poisoned by the king of Navarre, and the physician had said to him, that as soon as that fistula should cease to run, he ought to prepare himself for death. He profited

of

of that advice; and perceiving his last hour approaching, he made his confession, and settled his spiritual affairs and those of his kingdom.

He sent for his brothers of Burgundy and Berry, and his brother-in-law the duke of Bourbon. He did not invite the duke of Anjou, because he was jealous of his ambition. He acquainted them with the state of affairs, and the humour of his son, and told them, that he was a young child of a giddy temper, and needed to have able persons about him to teach him early the art of governing the people, lest his weakness should move them to rebel against him. He recommended to them to chuse a wife for him out of a family of sufficient power, to be of advantage to the kingdom; and he desired them especially to observe and be watchful over the duke of Brittany; that he was a person pragmatical, artful, and English by inclination; that the means to repress him, was to gain, as he had done, the nobility and the good towns of Brittany, and to maintain the alliances that he had made with Germany and the empire, and that that would be of great use to the kingdom. Then, after appointing Clisson constable of France, he died in a very Christian manner in 1380, extremely regretted by all his people.

Unwearied

Unwearied were their commendations of a prince so full of wisdom, and of all virtues, who, finding the affairs of the kingdom desperate, had recovered them by his prudence, and raised them to the highest pitch. France had at that time excellent troops, and very great generals to command them; and besides there was great plenty of every thing. The king had so prudently managed his finances, that, notwithstanding the great expense he was necessarily obliged to support, he left eighteen millions of money \* in his coffers. So that there was nothing that France might not undertake and execute, if the premature death of so great a king had not deprived her of such advantages.

\* About L. 787,500 *Sterling*, supposing the rate as at present twenty-four livres for a guinea.

*The End of the FIRST VOLUME.*